

R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 010 672

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL BUILDING DESIGN.

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WASHINGTON UNIV., ST. LOUIS, MO., GRAD. INST. OF EDUC.

REPORT NUMBER CRP-S-223

PUB DATE

67

SAINT LOUIS UNIV., MO.

REPORT NUMBER BR-5-8123

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.63 HC-\$19.00 475P.

DESCRIPTORS- *INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS, *GROUP BEHAVIOR, SCHOOL PLANNING, SCHOOL POLICY, SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, *SCHOOL DESIGN, EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS, ROLE THEORY, SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION, SCHOOL ORGANIZATION, DECISION MAKING SKILLS, *SCHOOL PERSONNEL, *SOCIAL SCIENCES, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, KENSINGTON SCHOOL

THE DEVELOPMENT AND INTEGRATION OF SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESIGN WERE INVESTIGATED BY FOCUSING ON THE IMPACT OF A UNIQUELY DESIGNED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL BUILDING, THE KENSINGTON SCHOOL. AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO SYNTHESIZE ROLE THEORY, DECISION MAKING THEORY, SOCIAL SYSTEM THEORY, AND SUCH PROBLEM AREAS AS STAFF PEER GROUPS, EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION, ADMINISTRATION, ORGANIZATION, AND SCHOOL POLICY INTO THE RESEARCH ACTIVITY. THE INVESTIGATION WAS A FORMULATIVE OR MODEL BUILDING STUDY, AND THE PRINCIPAL METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION WAS PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION. THIS WAS SUPPLEMENTED BY INFORMAL INTERVIEWS, INTENSIVE ANALYSIS OF RECORDS, AND VERBATIM ACCOUNTS OF MEETINGS. IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT, BY CONSIDERING THE UNANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES OF PURPOSEFUL ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION AND BOTH LATENT AND MANIFEST INFORMAL GROUP INFLUENCES, THE RESEARCHERS COULD BEST SEE HOW THE RATIONAL AND INFORMAL PATTERNS OF INTERACTION OR BELIEF MEET IN THIS INNOVATIVE SITUATION AND HOW THESE PATTERNS HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR EACH OTHER. (GD)

ED010672

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5-8123

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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FINAL REPORT
PROJECT NO. S-223

Bureau of Research

U.S. Office of
Education

1967

Social Psychological Aspects of
School Building Design

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and

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Final Report
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U. S. Office of Education
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Preface

Prefaces have many purposes. Perhaps the most important is to thank a number of people and agencies who have had a good bit to do with the carrying out of the project. First and foremost in a participant observer study is the secretarial staff who are burdened with a host of duties. Two of the most able secretaries we have known, Jan Williford, early, and more recently, Pat Carpenter have carried out the administrative management of field note typing, mimeographing, and so forth. They have been ably assisted at various times by Kathy Blackwell, Dorothy Clark, Vera Costain, Jane Saenger, Vicki Willman, and others of the G.I.E. staff.

While our write up is in the form of a U. S. Office of Education final report, we have been assisted financially by several other agencies. The Milford School District contributed generously in the initiation of the project. Pat Keith was on an NIMH fellowship during the data gathering year. The final report writing was aided by Louis Smith's sabbatical leave from Washington University and a Senior Research Associateship from CEMREL, the Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory.

Paul F. Kleine served as research assistant during the first month and a half of the project. His careful and insightful field work contributed significantly to the investigation.

As usual, our colleagues at the Graduate Institute of Education of Washington University lived with us and bore the brunt of our obsession. Such a milieu, which we often take for granted, should not be minimized.

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Chapter One

Overview

AN INTRODUCTORY EPILOGUE

By definition, epilogues are speeches, short poems or the like, addressed to the spectators and spoken after the conclusion of a play, and hence do not belong at the beginning, if at all, in a research report. In a sense though, our research is a play which has ended. By giving the reader the dimensions of the ending, we might produce a set for the interpretation of the story. Some contemporary psychologists suggest that this could have significant results.

Kensington was a school. Now, two years after it began, it does not exist as it once did. The School Board has changed; the Superintendent, Steven Spanman, has resigned after a year's leave of absence; the curriculum director, Jerl Cohen, has been gone for a year; and the Principal, Eugene Shelby, left in mid-semester of the second year. Only eight of the original teaching staff returned the second year; only two of the original group, so it is rumored, will be back for the beginning of the third year. The principal actors who played a part of the school are recorded in Figure 1.1.

Insert Figure 1.1 about here

In February of the second year, a going away party was held for the principal. Several excerpts from the field notes¹ made after the announcement

1. The methodology of the study, participant observation, produced voluminous recorded accounts of the events of the school. The quotes are from these records.

Principal	Eugene Shelby	
Basic Skills Division	Wanda Ellison Jean Emerson Sue Norton Mary Radford Elaine Ross Carla Young	Additions & Replacements Chris Hun Sarah Jones
Transition Division	Meg Adrian Daniel Hun Claire Nelson	
Independent Study Division	Kay Abbot Jack Davis Liz Etzell Irma Hall Bill Kirkham David Nichols John Taylor Alec Thurman	Substitutes & Replacements Linda Dixon Lee Gage Walt Larsen Abbie Allen
Curriculum Materials Coordinator	Tom Mack	
Teaching Aides	Helen Beacon Arthur Carroll Joan Sidney Marjorie Wald Inez York	
Central Office Staff Superintendent Curriculum Director Counselor Others	Steve Spanman Jerl Cohen Joe Harlan Howard Couden Edwin Kaufman Adolph Sullivan	
Consultants 1. General 2. N.T.L.	Dr. Leslie Roberts Dr. Lois Erickson Miss Lyn Karson	

Figure 1.1. Kensington faculty and significant others.

of the principal's departure capture further facets of the epilogue.

I (the observer) have the feeling that one has when one attends a funeral. Tonight the staff held a party for Eugene. He's due to leave the day after tomorrow. He goes to P.S. 2100 in Metropolis.

Eugene commented briefly about the differences in the new position and the fact that it will have State financing rather than local financing and it also will not be so closely tied up with local control. As he talked he was almost explicit about what I would call the reasons for the difficulty and they center around the public opinion of the community and around the lack of resources to carry out the task. He commented also that the Director of the new project will be a friend of Steven Spanman. This produced in me a reaction--mainly of corroborating a feeling--that Steven won't return. He's taking care of his last major appointment and made sure that he's had a place to light. Jerl is with the Olds Foundation.

John mentioned the fact that most of the teachers are thinking about leaving and many have already decided to do so. Of the old guard: He will leave for he hopes to have his dissertation completed, and apparently has been working very hard on it. Apparently he's gotten things straightened out with his advisor.² Meg and Jean are considering leaving; Meg to go to Florida perhaps, where John would like to go also. Jean's talking about going back to graduate school. In my brief conversation with Claire and Jean they raised issues of the kinds of schools here in the mid-West that accented things like team teaching. Wanda and Irma, the latter was not at the party tonight, seemed to be the only bets of people who will remain at the school. John thought that Wanda might go to another school in the District.

The party was quite an emotional undertaking. They had brought two presents for Eugene: a beautiful plaque and pen-set combination as well as a beautiful wool sweater. The plaque had a photo engraving of the floor plan of the School and a comment of appreciation to Eugene for his leadership in making Kensington a reality.

The feeling I had about the party was that the new staff

2. Further information finds this not to be so. We analyze this in more detail in the section "All but the dissertation: the heavy burden."

members tended to be the ones in high prominence in the social interaction. . . .As I watched and listened I had the feeling that there were no major or minor strands of conflict and hostility within the group. Obviously in this kind of a setting it would be hard to pick it up. I guess the major indicator I would look at here is the quality of the humor. The new coloring book didn't have the bite that I recalled the old one to have.³ Similarly, as the people joked, the spirit was much more of we against them, the forces outside in the community which were trying to stifle the school and trying to attack the Principal. I had the feeling as I talked alone with John that the villain in the eyes of the teachers this year was the District which wouldn't support the basic idea that the School was trying to convey. He talked most earnestly about "It's been a good idea and there were some unfinished things to be done yet."

Some of the humor centered around the flagpole problem which apparently is part of a series of community comments and Daily Sentinel, one of the local newspapers, comments about the fact that the School doesn't fly a flag. Apparently the rope of the pulley is broken. Why it hasn't been fixed I don't know. The staff commented some about the newspaper article in the Sentinel in which a picture of the pond behind the school was featured and a comment about a "slimy pond" at the "school of the year," was commented upon. I couldn't pick up any overtones or any within-team struggles or conflicts. In fact the reverse was true. John commented that the I.S.D. group had a "strong and well-functioning team." Apparently the classes are pretty much self-contained in the morning, as I'd heard before, and in the afternoon they have jointly-scheduled the same classes and the staff swaps pupils; they've done some re-grouping according to diagnostic tests. He commented that there had been some good instructing this year. Similarly I heard no overtones of any problems that Meg and Claire were having nor of any that Jean was having with the Basic Skills group. Wanda is in Kindergarten where she wanted to be, and apparently is quite happy there. . . .Also the feeling I get is that the total staff is a good bit more teaching and instruction oriented. For instance, one of the teachers in I.S.D. came from a principalship and, according to John, is a highly-organized and task-oriented guy. Also, there seems to be

3. The "coloring books" were vehicles for parties held by the staff; they indicated the creativity of the staff and the use of humor in focusing on significant episodes in the life of the school.

a good bit more experience on the part of a number of the staff members. With Tom not being there and not playing the quasi-principal role it seems that that's more functional.

Some of the kinds of comments I've been making suggest that the first year in any organization is apt to be a tremendous trial in that it takes a good bit of sorting out to ultimately get a smooth-running unit.

(2/28, Post-experimental Year)

Such were some of the observations recorded after the study was over. We had gone back to the district to be a part of a phase of the ending of the Kensington Story. We have commented about a number of issues, the full significance of which will be apparent only as one reaches into the full story of Kensington.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Initial Proposal

However, our study did not begin as an investigation of teacher turnover nor of administrative succession. It began as we suggested in our research proposal.

The problem⁴ to be studied in this investigation contains several components. In its most general aspect, we are trying to capitalize on a rather unusual naturalistic event, the building of a new and uniquely designed elementary school building. Figure 1.2 contains the floor plan and design.

Insert Figure 1.2 about here

4. These materials are quoted verbatim from the research proposal funded by the U. S. Office of Education (S-223) and Milford, the local school district.

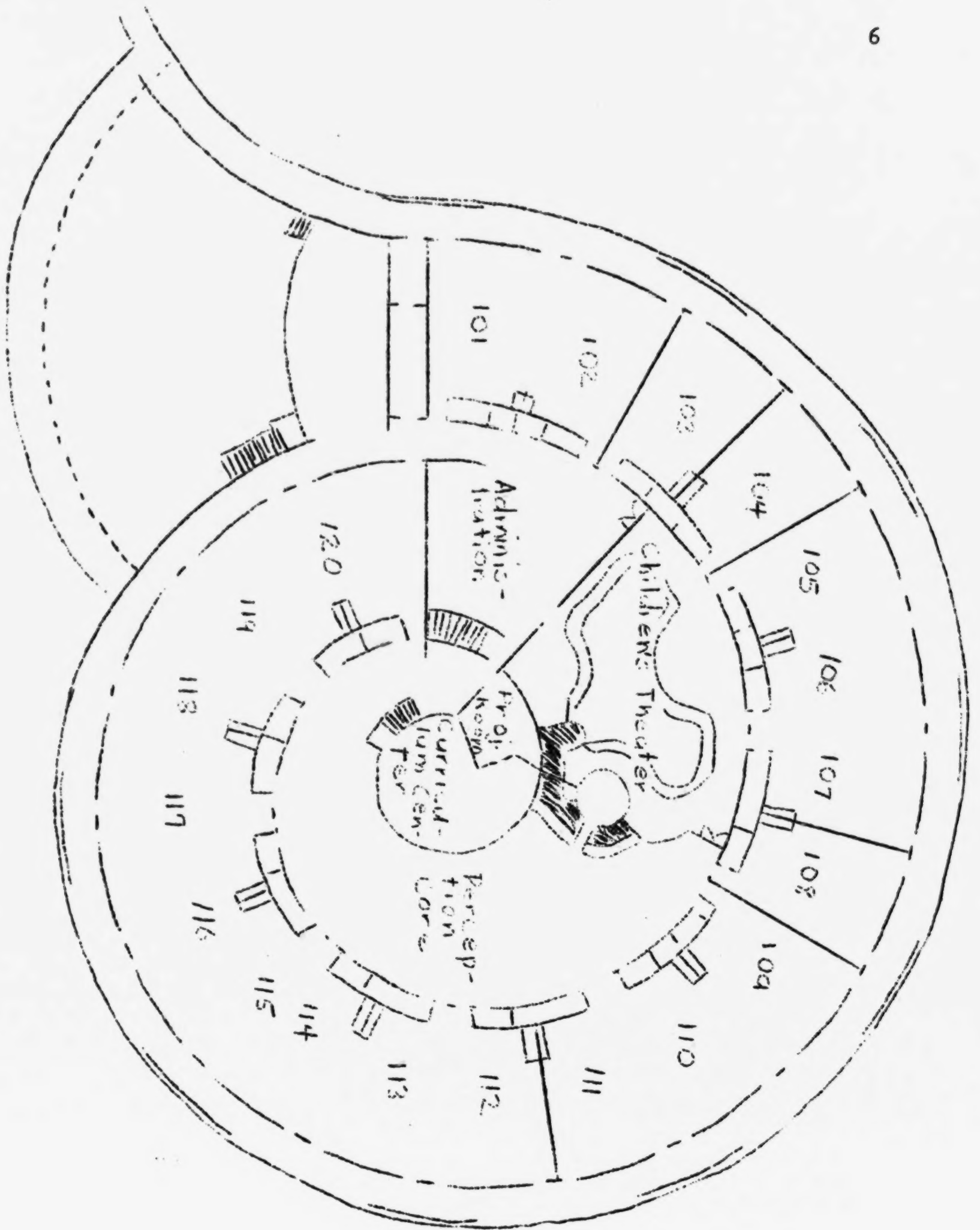


Figure 1.2 Floor plan of Kensington School.

While in a general sense, the question, What happens in such a novel situation?, is the focus of the research, the more specific problems to be analyzed are: (1) the development of the faculty social system; (2) the principal's role vis-à-vis the faculty social system; (3) the teachers' innovations in instruction; (4) the development of the school-wide pupil social system.

(1) In a prior investigation (Smith & Geoffrey, 1965), we were impressed with the importance of a faculty peer group as an element in the classroom teacher's decision making. The influence it exerted was not widely recognized in the building. The clique had been in operation for a number of years. In this study we will have an opportunity to observe the formation of an entire faculty system (18 of the 23 teachers are new to the school district), to see in what ways it is a totality, what and how cliques are formed, the influence processes, and the resulting impact, consonant or dissonant, on the teacher.

(2) In the proposed study, the principal's decision making role will be a focal point in light of the novel building design, the demand for instructional innovation, and the majority of teachers new to the system. By capitalizing on these events, which should highlight the issues, we should be able to criticize and extend the theory of decision making as it has been applied in education, e.g., Halpin, Administrative Theory in Education.

(3) Typically, teachers entertain few dramatic changes of style, curriculum content, or classroom organization. The present setting in many ways is optimal for encouraging creativity in these areas. Such innovations with pupils lie at the heart of alterations in pupil outcomes. Observation should lead to rethinking of models of teacher-pupil relationships. These models will be broader than many current ones for they must encompass some of the "team" aspects and also the novel physical resources.

(4) The pupils' reactions in their new environment will be observed carefully. While one major focus will be on the developing sentiment toward the new school, such activities, as independent study and social interactions, will be considered also. Geographically, the large library-study room and the covered playground area will be the arenas for initial observation.

In short, while the study focuses on the impact of a unique school plant, and several specific areas of investigation have been suggested, the principal investigator's bias leans toward the broader goal of the development and

integration of social science theory in education. In this regard, an attempt will be made to synthesize role theory, decision making theory, and social system theory as they explicate the functioning of this school.

Shelby's Initial View⁵

While that was our phrasing of the problem, Mr. Shelby had his own views of the study. The field notes after our first extended interview related his perspective:

One of the first questions I raised with him concerned what he thought might be of interest to the investigation, what kinds of questions might be answered. He was ready with an answer, and I infer that he had given some thought to the proposal and to what he wanted to see done. A number of issues were raised. One of these concerned his feeling that the physical plant was over-emphasized in opposition to the educational innovations in the program that would be carried out. In this regard he drew a brief diagram of the physical plant influencing curriculum, teacher behavior, and organizational factors. He thought the accent ought to be on the things that were influenced and that they were the most important. We talked some about how the physical factors have been used as a hook on which to hang the proposal. He could understand that very readily. He presented an illustration, and he does this quite often as he talks, of a physical factor such as the item of movable desks. When one contrasts what happens in this kind of a classroom from classrooms where there are fixed desks, very often the results are negative in that the movable desks never get moved. In that sense they are not utilized at all. At this point our ideas met very closely and I illustrated this with the concepts of opportunities and constraints which seem to me to be important notions in the discussion of classroom and school phenomena. These concepts do not appear in most learning experiments. Eugene suggested that they sounded somewhat like Kurt Lewin-type concepts.

(8/9, Prior to the First Year)

5. Later, and at great length, in our discussion of the Institutional Plan we present Shelby's conception of the school, its goals, organization, and program.

As the study developed, the title "Social Psychological Aspects of School Building Design" reflected only a part of the story. Our subproblems of staff peer groups, administrator decision making and educational innovation remained significant. In addition, organizational development and formal doctrine became foci for analysis.

The Methodology

The investigation was a formulative or model building study and the principal method of data collection was participant observation. This was supplemented by informal interviews and intensive analysis of records, and verbatim accounts of meetings. Access to all documents had been given; this included faculty and parent school council bulletins and committee reports and district-wide curriculum materials. Observations were made of classroom interaction, use of facilities, total faculty meetings, team meetings, curriculum committee meetings, and parent school council meetings.

These varied observations enabled us to follow the development of the organization through three main periods of time. The first block was a four-week workshop prior to the beginning of school. In the months of September through December the school's three academic divisions, the Independent Study Division (I.S.D.), Transition Division, and Basic Skills Division, were temporarily housed in three widely separated facilities. From December through June the divisions were located in the building designed for the program.

Maslow's statements as to the need for observation and reporting of educational experiments seem relevant and most encouraging.

In most such cases (experimental programs and schools) we wind up with a retrospective story of the program, the faith, the confident expectations, but with inadequate accounts of just what was done, how, and when and of just what happened and didn't happen as a result. . . . The real question is how we can make the best use of the "natural experiments" that result when some courageous enthusiast with faith in his ideas wants to "try something out" and is willing to gamble. . . . If only they were good reporters too. . . and regarded the "write-up" as a part of the commitment!

That is just about the way the ethnologist works: he doesn't design, control, manipulate, or change anything. Ultimately he is simply a non-interfering observer and a good reporter. (Maslow, 1965, p. 13)

Hopefully, we filled the roles of "a non-interfering observer and a good reporter."

While Appendix II contains our more elaborate account of the methodology, and while we have written more intensively on participant observational procedures (Smith & Geoffrey, 1965), several comments seem in order. In the original proposal the procedures were described in three short paragraphs:

The general design follows the standard participant observational field study procedures as these have been described in W. F. Whyte's "Observational field work methods" in Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook's Research methods in social relations; S. Kimball's "The method of natural history and educational research in Spindler's Education and anthropology"; and H. Becker's "Problems of inference and proof in participant observation," in the American Sociological Review, 1958.

In terms of more specific design, these field note records of school and classroom events will be analyzed according to Becker's specific suggestions: 1) selection and definition of problems, concepts, and indices; 2) checking the frequency and distribution of phenomena; 3) construction of social system models; 4) final analysis and presentation of results (p. 653).

Procedurally, the plan will be to have two persons, the principal investigator and research assistant, engaging

in the observation. One of the two will be in the building at all times.⁶

The Outcomes: Description and Theory

The outcome of the research, by design and actual result, is twofold. We wanted to describe carefully and accurately the events which make up the beginnings of an innovative school. Also we wanted to abstract from that description and to talk about the events in a more general theoretical language which would have applicability beyond the single particularistic case of Kensington. In this regard we have built "models," pictorial sketches of interrelated hypotheses which explain our data and which, we would argue, might be fruitful starting points for verificational research. To illustrate the description and theory we present an initial view of the school and an initial interpretive model based on the epilogue at the beginning of the chapter.

The initial view

The colored photographs of the school initially gave an image of a fairyland with its slightest hint of the unreal, for the external aspects of the building were that of an unusual snail-shaped, white-one-story structure which rose to a peak at the center. This was our first view of the prospective Kensington School.

6. While we were not there at "all" times, we did approximate this. In the summer workshop and through the first few weeks of September, Paul F. Kleine worked full time on the project. Smith and Keith (who was on a fellowship at the time) devoted almost full time to the project.

Inside, with no corridors, a spiral pathway began at the center and unwound to an outside covered walkway. Within, the description was completed with carpeting, colorful furnishings, and air conditioning. As if to be reassured of their uniqueness, the areas were indicated by terminology as unusual as their shape--the nerve center, perception core, satellite kitchen, and laboratory suites.

However, the uniqueness persisted even beyond the material manifestations, for these took on complete meaning only when regard was given to a program of "individualized learning" for which the facilities were especially designed. None of the techniques to be used as means were wholly new; it was the totality that boasted "newness." The total was to capture team teaching with all of its varying organizational possibilities, ungradedness, total democratic pupil-teacher decision making, absence of curriculum guides, and a learner-centered environment with all of its ramifications that was to correspond to and blend with the physical facilities to implement an idea. The idea to prevail was primarily that of freedom from staid educational means which in turn would unleash both faculty and students from the throes of the traditional and move toward an "individualized learning program." Upon hearing of it, one was reminded of the similarities between the Kensington School and England's Summerhill, the Free School Community of Wickerdorf, Germany, the Gordon School in Tel-Aviv, and Vienna's Adlerian Experimental School.

Yet, while the philosophies were similar, what was to be attempted in September was, for us, spatially nearer, administratively more accessible, and more feasible for study. In its totality the school was to be the first implementation of such a program with a corresponding physical design

in the United States. Not only this, it is a public school with no emphasis on pupil selection and is in a lower-middle class suburban school district in a large metropolitan area in the Ohio River Valley. What would happen in the way of its development as a social institution, its community response, and the carrying forth of the program in all its uniqueness were vital questions. The study approached the development of the school as an organization utilizing the functional orientation with its emphasis on the social consequences of phenomena as well as their source and composition. The concepts of latent and manifest functions and dysfunctions were used to help organize and present the data as they relate formal organizational doctrine, internal administrative structure, and facilities.

The theoretical intent

With some misgiving, we present an initial theoretical interpretation, the idealization of Eugene Shelby which appears in the epilogue. The reservations arise because our data are "soft," sketchy, and our analysis is heavily speculative, in contrast to interpretations later where the data are "hard" and the hypotheses are grounded well in the case, if not more generally in the real world. When Gouldner (1954a and b) first analysed administrative succession in terms of the idealization of the earlier manager, he called it the "Rebecca myth" after a similar phenomenon which was the central thesis of a novel by DuMaurier (1954). Our intent, throughout our analysis is to build upon the descriptions captured in the field notes. This building involves 1) "borrowing" concepts such as idealization of an administrator, 2) creating new concepts such as the "Bataan Phenomenon," 3) linking of concepts into hypotheses such as increasing idealization of

an administrator increases fond memories of Kensington's potential, and 4) patterning the hypotheses into pictorial models and axiomatic miniature theories. Figure 1.3 presents such a pictorial model.

This kind of intent is our understanding of the cumulative function of theory described by Merton (1957), practiced by Homans (1950), pictorialized by March and Simon (1958), rationalized by Zetterberg (1965), and extrapolated to educational psychology by Smith and Geoffrey (In press).

Figure 1.3 should be read in this manner. At some point in time, (T_1), the middle of the post-experimental year, several aspects of the social system could be isolated and described. Pressures from outside the school were increasing. These were from the patrons of the community and from the new central administrative staff. The setting, both in terms of doctrine and practices in the school, was innovative. The "Bataan phenomenon" refers to the dual facets that Eugene was the last of the key administrative figures to leave, for Steven Spanman and Jerl Cohen, the superintendent and curriculum director, had both departed, and second that Eugene was not leaving spiritually, for his new position was with P.S. 2100 in Metropolis, a school designed for the future. In effect, he was going to continue the battle for the Kensington ideals. Finally, we would argue that decreased day to day frustrations from the level of the prior year, and the particular kind of staff turnover at the end of the prior year, were important also at T_1 . We hypothesize that these elements lead to the idealization of Shelby, the formation of the Rebecca Myth. This idealization contributes in turn to the accenting of fond memories and to the selective recall and salience of the doctrine as opposed to the practices.

Our model traces an ancillary thread of a more conservative successor,

altered policy and continued staff turnover. At T_4 , the future of Kensington awaits itself.⁷

Insert Figure 1.3 about here

As we look back at Gouldner's analysis of "Old Doug," the Rebecca of the gypsum plant, we find essentially that the myth arose out of the frustrations in the rescinding of the indulgency pattern of supervision.

In part, workers conjured up the past, comparing Peele with 'Old Doug,' as an effort to legitimate the crumbling indulgency pattern and to justify their resistance to Peele's changes. If the elements of the indulgency pattern were suspect and non-legitimate, the myth of 'Old Doug' became its guardian. The issue then need no longer be, 'This is what we want,' but could be stated, 'Old Doug did thus and so, and he was a good man.' The development of this myth illustrates the workers response to a 'latent problem' and their use of informal rather than contractual solutions to meet Peel's violation of the indulgency pattern. (1954b, pp. 28-9)

Our analysis, in contrast, would accent a more complex set of dimensions surrounding the departure of the earlier administrator and the nature of the system at that time. Further, it suggests linkages between the Rebecca Myth and the more general form of idealization of leaders, charisma.

This then is what we are about. We observed for many hours over the course of the full school year. We lived with the staff from the first day of the summer workshop in August until the last formal meeting, a closing dinner party in June. We kept careful records on the day to day trials, tribulations, joys and sorrows. We thought as hard and as well as we were

7. Data keep coming in for reports are slow in writing; our best information suggests a total retreat from the Kensington ideals.

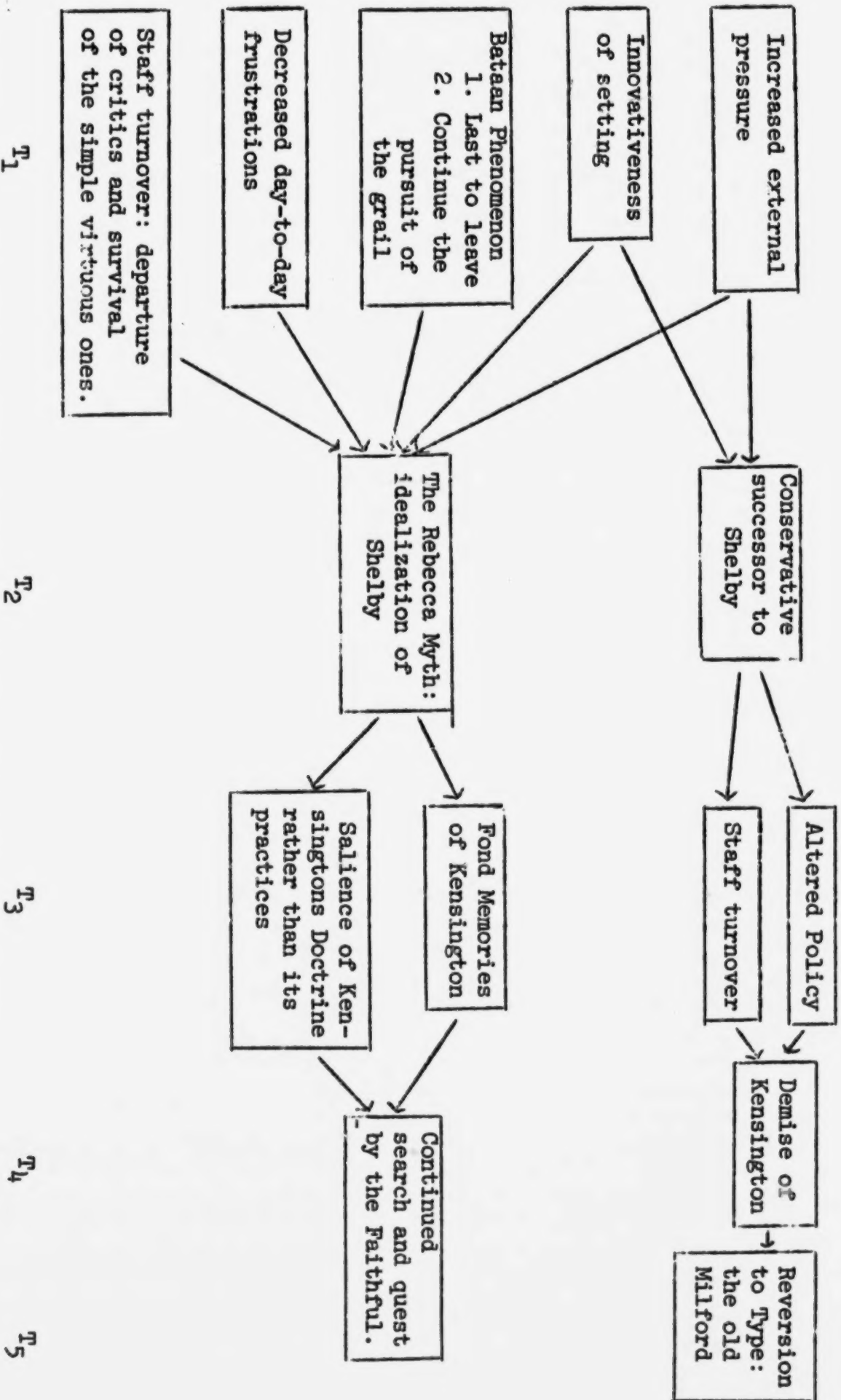


Figure 1.3 The Rebecca Myth: hypotheses on the idealization of Shelby.

able to understand Kensington as an individual case study and as an illustration of broad and significant issues in social science and education. That was our task and our privilege.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

In Part One we have presented an overview of Kensington and the nature of the research problem and procedure.

Part Two is essentially descriptive. Chapter Two deals with the August workshop, an important innovation in itself. During this month much of the organizational structure, both formal and informal, of the school arose and was crystallized. Chapter Three describes the initial meeting with the pupils in the temporary quarters. The move to the new building occurred in December and is described in Chapter Four.

Part Three contains the major interpretations we derived from the data. Into this discussion we bring relevant social science literature which we utilize to provide a framework for analysis and which, in turn, we criticize as we find it wanting. Chapter Five deals with organizational development and change. Chapter Six accents a major portion of Kensington, the role of ideology, which we try and capture in formal doctrine, institutional plan and facade. In Chapter Seven we raise issues in administrative theory which our data suggest are very important. Finally, in Chapter Eight we attend to problems in innovation. We attempt to analyze the implications of a number of the specific innovations and we also treat at some length the problem of "true belief in an innovative organization." The relevance of this

to professional education's contemporary scene seems very high.

In Part Four we try for a conclusion. Here we return to the description of the Spring equilibrium and we analyze some of these events in the context of our major interpretive themes. Two appendices, one on methodology and one a partial glossary, continue our attempts to formalize method and theory.

Chapter Two

The Way Kensington Began: The Summer Workshop

Introduction

While Kensington had been developing for several years, it began in August for us, and in a real sense for the staff as well. The teachers first formal contact as a group in the school setting occurred then. The following weeks until September 8, which was the official opening of the Kensington School were referred to as a workshop. As will be noted below, the activities were varied and the implications of those days in August were crucial for the development of the school as a social system.

What was designated by the faculty as a workshop served as a period of socialization and education for them. The first five days were spent in training groups led by representatives from the National Training Laboratory (NTL). Two sessions per day involved the total staff and the remainder of the time consisted of group meetings. The training groups were viewed by the leader as a form of planning for the coming year. The staff was to "begin to be a group"; they were to get to know one another, learn each other's resources, and learn to work together.

Monday, the first day of the second week, began what the Principal called the "big day," the end of the preliminaries of general planning (by all kinds of other persons and committees), and the beginning of intimate work by the staff. The week contained also a more intensive welcome by the Superintendent, Dr. Steven Spanman, total staff discussion led by the Principal, the arrival of a consultant, Mr. Roberts, from City University, and

the beginnings of a working committee structure. The latter included horizontal committees, cut according to age levels of the children, Basic Skills Division (first and second grades), Transition Division (third grade), and Independent Study Division (fourth through sixth grades) and vertical curriculum committees, in science, language arts, social studies and mathematics. A more general committee, the Curriculum Coordinating Committee (CCC) was established. Finally, considerable time was allocated to individual work by the teacher. Each teacher kept an activity log which was turned in to the Principal and provided feedback to him.

The third week followed much the same pattern.

While the fourth week continued the same activities, the focus shifted toward preparation of the temporary quarters and planning by the teams who would be working together. The building had not been finished on schedule and Basic Skills would be housed in six rooms at Milford High School, Transition would be in Hillside, a neighboring elementary school, and I.S.D. would be in the gym of the Milford Junior High School. Also the broader environment impinged upon Kensington. The total district staff became alive as they prepared for their teaching responsibilities. The Kensington staff spent two evenings meeting with parents in a discussion of the school and its program.

On Tuesday, after Labor Day, school began.

The Faculty

While we do not have data on faculty composition of new schools, and consequently can not make rigorous comparisons, our belief is that the

Kensington staff was unusual and unique. First, the majority of the teachers were new to the school district. They were recruited from the breadth of the Midwest--the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Michigan. Second, the staff was relatively inexperienced. Seven of the original twenty-one¹ had had no teaching experience beyond student teaching, an apprenticeship, or internship. Although two of the teachers had had over twenty years of experience, most of the remainder of the staff had taught less than five years; even some of those who were older had come to teaching late, after raising their families. Third, the staff seemed very able intellectually. Three of the group had all their doctoral course work finished and needed only a dissertation. All of these three had taught at the college level; one additional staff member held a part-time, Saturday morning college position, a Principles and Methods of Teaching course. Most of the staff had M.A.'s (some through an M.A.T. internship program). Three of the group had had almost no training or experience with elementary children; they had trained for secondary education in one of the content areas.

Attitudinally, they were characterized by one of the central office staff as "not a Republican in the group." While our conversations and informal interaction suggested this was not so for several, the majority reflected a liberal Democratic political orientation. More specifically, however, the group did have high Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory (MTAI) scores; the median fell at the 85%ile on the national norms for elementary

1. The numbers varied; we have not counted the four teacher aides who played vital roles nor the kindergarten teacher who took no part in the Summer and Fall program. We did count the Guidance Counselor who was quite active.

teachers. On the Wehling-Charters Inventory, Teacher Conceptions of the Educative Process, the faculty scored high on pupil autonomy, teacher consideration, adjustment as a goal, content integration and closeness of teacher-pupil relationships.

Of the original group, nine were men. All but one of them were married. Of the twelve women, seven were not married. In only one instance were both husband and wife members of the faculty.

The staff contained five non-certificated personnel, four married women and a young man just graduated from high school. He served as audio-visual technician; they served in the capacities of secretary, library clerk, teacher aide, and instructional clerk. They were all new to their positions.

While other personnel, from the central office, custodial staff and cafeteria personnel were part of the story, they tended not to be central actors. As the staff changed over the year and new persons played a vital part we will introduce them.²

During the Fall semester, four student teachers from local colleges were a part of the staff. They were finishing the final year of their teacher training programs.

T-Groups

Initial decisions

As has been mentioned, the first week involved a T-group training program. This focus arose through the efforts of the principal, Mr. Shelby.

2. The reader will want to refer back continuously to the list of faculty presented as Figure 1.1 in Chapter One.

In his words, decisions can be categorized as "intuitive" and "rational." The former have a perceptual or habitual quality; they occur immediately, without reflection. Rational decisions follow from intensive consideration of alternatives and consequences. The T-group decision was an intuitive one for Mr. Shelby and grew out of his experience with people, activities and "significant results" associated with the N.T.L. point of view. Prior to the first week, Mr. Shelby had not been a part of a T-group experience. However, he had been involved in human relations work with school administrators at the university level and had assisted in a variety of problem and role-playing sessions requiring administrators to analyze group behavior and to practice group skills.

Final planning for the first week of the workshop occurred on Sunday evening, the 9th of August. The week's program would involve alternations between T-group sessions and general sessions. The former involves a unique kind of learning experience in which a number of persons meet together and the activity of the group develops out of the growing relationships among the members of the group. This kind of training is intended to make individuals more perceptive of group processes and their own personal relationships within the group.³ The general sessions were to combine lectures, discussions, and training exercises utilizing human relations problems.

3. This approach has been the subject of considerable controversy in education and the behavioral sciences. Contrary positions are seen in such reports as Whyte (1953), Bradford, et al., (1964), and Miles (1959). The investigators themselves have been skeptical as seen in earlier writings (Smith (1959), Smith and Hudgins (1964), Smith and Geoffrey (1965); and in a comment recorded in the field notes: "My basic emotional orientation is, Where does an alien go to register? The whole orientation is so much less directive than I am accustomed to that it's difficult to be a part of." (9/9).

Considerable discussion arose in the decision regarding the constitution of the two T-groups. The alternatives considered were a split by division (I.S.D. vs. T.D. and B.S.D.) or a vertical split. Figure 2.1 presents the reasoning related to the vertical split. The Principal was to be in one group and one of the older, more experienced members, the curriculum materials coordinator, would be in the other. The men and women were divided about equally.

Insert Figure 2.1 about here

An additional degree of novelty of this experience became apparent in the discussion Sunday evening before the workshop began.

Another point that came out at this time was that neither Lyn nor Lois had had an experience with just this kind of situation before, that is, in the sense that they were working with groups of people who are now aggregates and have not worked together and who ultimately will become a long-standing and continuing group. Each of them has worked more with ad hoc groups and secondarily with groups that had a history and would remain together. But the no-history phenomenon seems a very unique one.⁴

(9/10, 7:00 a.m.)

In effect, a group of people who had not known each other before and who were to work together all year in a formal organization, a public school, would be spending their first week together in a T-group setting.

Monday

On Monday morning, the staff gathered at 8:30 in the administration

4. Later searches of the literature, Bradford, et al., (1964) and Glidewell (1966), indicate this is an unexplored dimension of T-group theory and practice.

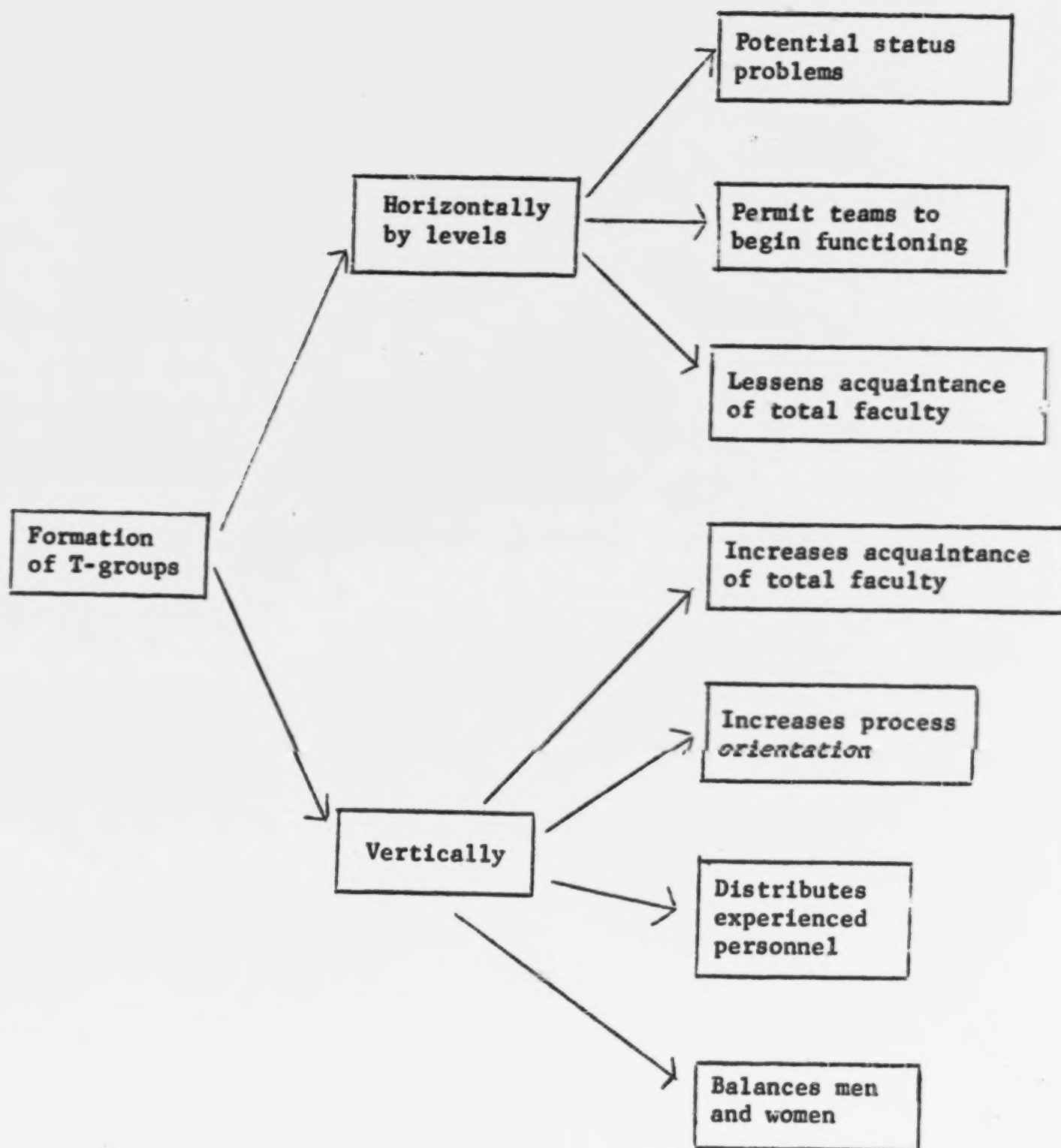


Figure 2.1. Decision tree regarding T-group formation.

building. They were welcomed by the superintendent and the principal. The research project, which culminated in the present document, was explained briefly.

. . .record the problems in development of a new staff in a unique situation; this morning's questionnaires are a source of baseline data. Final report to school administration and U. S. Office. No information will be fed back to administration. Researchers are not consultants.

(8/10)

The teachers took two questionnaires: the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory and the Teacher Conceptions of the Educational Process. With minimal comment (a few had taken the MTAI before and several questioned the "loaded items"), the group completed the questionnaire and took a coffee break. After coffee, Dr. Erickson began a discussion of the week's calendar, "the exciting venture of learning to become a group." After 30 minutes of setting the stage, the staff reorganized into the Training Groups.

The Training Groups continued until about 12:30 when the groups broke for lunch. A few minutes before 2:00 p.m. they reconvened for a total group lecture and discussion. The lecture content centered on people's varying perceptions and expectations, the genesis of the difference (e.g., past experience) and the consequences of the differences (e.g., conflicting values and loyalties). The discussion was lively and controversial. After a brief coffee break, the T-groups met for the remainder of the afternoon, until approximately 5:00 p.m. During the day, the content of the T-group discussions involved getting acquainted, raising questions about specific aspects of Kensington, and the giving of interpretive comments by the NTL trainers on aspects of group process. In the one group, the initial focus lay on the problems of status and authority in both teacher relationships

and teacher-principal relationships. For example, a possible dichotomy of younger vs. older teachers was raised. Being free to challenge the principal and calling him by his first name were examples of the former. In the other group, in the middle of a discussion of leadership, one teacher interrupted with "I don't care who is leader. I'm interested in 'nuts and bolts,' what will go on in Kensington." The situation was entangled in two additional ways. Earlier, another teacher had commented that the training groups lacked reality in that they did not have a task. Later, one teacher argued that they should develop their own expectations. He was supported by the comments, "We, the staff, are the architects." In contrast, another felt that they should await direction from the superintendent and principal.

Tuesday through Friday

At 8:30 on Tuesday, the day began in the T-group sessions. The discussions included 1) analytic observations on the group--"You can see who the administrators are by watching who takes charge"; 2) contrasts between Kensington and authority structures in most elementary schools; and 3) application of T-group process generalizations to teacher-pupil interaction. After morning coffee, the total staff convened for a lecture--a discussion of leadership. As this culminated in a continuum from leader centered to group centered, Shelby related it to the Kensington School. He argued that the model assumed a dichotomy between the school program and the group. He raised the "institutional plan" as a given and stated that a serious problem would arise if personal goals were radically different from the plan. He talked of the efforts, e.g., selection of staff, to erase this line of differences. The givens are commitments by the school district to outsiders

such as the U. S. Office of Education and so forth.

Early in the afternoon, the principal led an extended question-answer session on the building which would not be ready for opening day, materials, supplies, procedures, etc. Questions of audio-visual use, music schedules and modern math in the curriculum were answered as undetermined as yet; their solution was a goal of the summer workshop. At 1:30, one of the trainers began a discussion of communication--especially the issues of listening. She introduced a learning exercise in which each group member repeated the statement of his immediate predecessor. Discussion completed the exercise. At 2:40 the group broke for coffee.

Shortly after 3:00 p.m. the T-groups met separately until about 5:00 p.m.

On Wednesday the T-groups began the morning activities at 8:30. Coffee was at 10:30 and total group discussion began at 11:00. The topic was group effectiveness and its determinants. A lunch hour exercise of dyadic discussion was assigned. The topic was "What should I do to work more effectively in my group?" The afternoon began with a total staff discussion of prepared dittoed material on group maintenance and task role dimensions. Exercises involving one group discussing and a second group acting as observers of the process occurred and was followed by more general discussion. At 3:30 the T-groups reconvened, and carried on discussion until 4:30.

Thursday continued the pattern: T-groups at 8:30, coffee at 10:30, total group discussion and exercises at 11:00. At 1:30, after lunch, the total staff participated in a discussion and buzz group on the nature of problem solving and decision making. At 3:00 p.m. they returned again to the T-groups.

Friday began with T-groups at 8:30 and total staff lecture and discussion (models of interaction) at 11:00. After lunch the T-groups reconvened for the last time. The intensity of the emotionality was indicated as the groups talked through the pro's and con's of continuing to meet during the course of the year. For several of the group, the experience had been a dramatic revelation of self and an intense development of empathy. Others saw it as a social situation leading to further important social situations at Kensington. At 2:20 the total group met for discussion of issues in forming a new group, establishing working relationships, and ambiguous and unknown aspects of the teaching role. To facilitate the transition into the following weeks, the three Divisions--Basic Skills, Transition and I.S.D.--met independently. The groups engaged in tentative exploration of themselves, the T-group experience, Kensington's program, and the temporary facilities. At 3:45 summary discussions and leave taking occurred.

Roots of the informal system

George Homans (1950) argues that the interaction demanded of people by the formal organization spills over, becomes elaborated, as sentiments of mutual liking are perceived. This elaboration takes the form of new activities, e.g., parties, increased interaction, e.g., conversation and more broadly based sentiments. Such was the case at Kensington. The field notes on Wednesday contain this entry:

Part of this morning's T-group conversation centered about the salary problem and its effects on teacher relationships. Jack was rather surprised to learn that others knew his contractual agreement with the Milford School District. In the course of the discussion with Eugene, some of the women made known that they were not aware of the fact that they were being paid to attend this workshop. Jack expressed some

concern in the morning workshop that the rest of the staff was fully aware of his exact salary picture. During coffee this discussion was carried on at greater length. He stated in very clear terms that it made him very aggravated to know this. Dan was also present and both he and Jack agreed that it was their opinion that it is an entirely personal matter and no concern of anyone's as to their salary. During lunch I participated in a conversation between Liz, Elaine, and Dan. By consensus of opinion these three felt that it would have been advisable to begin the group action by working on an actual problem rather than by studying group processes. Elaine stated that she would have preferred working on an actual problem such as the curriculum and then coming back to studying group processes at a later time to analyze what they had done.

At the conclusion of today's T-group Jack left the room, thereby somewhat disrupting the conversation of the group. It was undecided whether or not to continue. However, the conversation continued and centered around this main point; should they analyze the day's discussion or should they wait until the entire group reconvenes tomorrow morning? The group gradually began discussing activities of the afternoon session and Lois, the trainer, interrupted to remind them that they had suggested to wait until tomorrow morning's session. By group consensus they decided that this was the wiser plan; consequently, they adjourned.

(6/12)

The salary issue concerned not only the Kensington staff but other teachers in the district who thought it "unfair" that Kensington teachers were paid above the stated training and experience guidelines. The concern over the T-groups and alternative ways of beginning the workshop was to crystallize later into the "substantive" as the "process" staff orientations. The final point, when do we stop talking about school "business," who must be included in such discussions, and who determines when we come and go, were issues about which no precedent existed.

In short

While our major analysis of the implications of the T-group experience appears later (See Chapter Eight on The Innovative School), we can report

that the immediate reaction of the teachers was that of considerable discomfort. The first item of the first Staff Bulletin on Tuesday, August the 11th, stated the response this way:

We are very pleased with the progress of the staff orientation workshop. Although a group development laboratory is never a comfortable thing to participate in, (LMS--our italics) it should prove helpful to us as we work together during the year to provide a forward looking educational program. As important as the many tasks for preparing for opening of school are, we believe that the development of good working relationships among the staff is of primary importance.
(Bulletin #1, 8/11)

The last item of the second Bulletin, issued on Friday of the first week, summarized the reaction.

We would like to extend a special word of appreciation to the directors of our group development laboratory, Dr. Lois Erickson and Miss Lyn Karson. We will not deny the frustration of the experience, but undoubtedly it will prove to have been most profitable as we work toward our goals this year. (LMS--our italics) . . . Thanks again for your contributions in providing experiences which will certainly be long remembered.
(Bulletin #2, 8/14)

The Remaining Weeks

The big day

The second Monday, August 17th, was described as the "big day," the beginning of intensive substantive discussion and planning for the year. The principal chaired the total staff meeting. Initial discussion centered on several major items, one of which was the interdependence of the program parts. The principal developed a lengthy analogy contrasting the functions, methods, and parts of a T-Bird and a Model-T Ford as he spoke of Kensington and traditional education. Commitment by staff was stressed. This, he analyzed into issues of staff selection and congruency between individual

philosophy and instructional objectives. Also, a contrast was made between traditional authority and a "rational approach" as conditions developing commitment. The principal accented the latter.⁵ The introductory remarks of the principal stressed skill in implementing the program, the necessity for making mistakes, and the possibility of staff growth. "The institutional plan," the principal's document, was raised as "a skeleton of the program, and the staff is to put hair on it." Finally he suggested that differences and disagreements should be open and explicit. They should be "out on the table," as had been accented in the previous week.

The remainder of the pre-coffee discussion centered on two mimeographed sheets containing job descriptions of the academic counselor and the subject specialist and a third sheet illustrating the administrative organization of Kensington. These are reproduced as Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4.

Insert Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 about here

These documents provoked brief discussion around 1) an administrative organization different from the single, self-contained class as a means to handle individual differences of pupils; 2) who makes what decisions regarding the academic program; 3) criteria of progress from division to division; 4) Goodlad's (1963) models of instruction, A, B, and C; 5) Kensington as an attempt to be a "C" school; 6) the nature and kinds of educational objectives for Kensington with the emphasis in the affective (self-motiva-

5. Later we analyze problems we see in the rational approach to goal formation.

Job Description for Subject Specialist

Primary Responsibilities:

- Curriculum organization
- Developing independent learning activities and materials
- Developing instructional activities and materials
- Providing individual and group instruction in subject areas
- Using diagnostic instruments in subject areas
- Using evaluative instruments in subject areas

Secondary Responsibilities:

- Assisting with curriculum organization
- Developing independent learning activities and materials
- Developing instructional activities
- Developing instructional activities and materials
- Providing instruction in subject areas

Although pupils will be under the direction of both an Academic Counselor and Subject Specialist, final responsibility for making decisions pertaining to pupils rests with the Academic Counselor.

Figure 2.2. Kensington job description for resource specialists.

Job Description for Academic Counselors**Primary Responsibilities:**

- Grouping of pupils
- Scheduling of pupil activities
- Evaluation of pupil activities
- Diagnosis of learning difficulties
- Dealing with pupil problems (behavior, attendance, illness)
- Evaluation and reporting of pupil progress
- Administering standardized tests
- Maintaining pupil records
- Assisting pupils with independent learning activities

Secondary Responsibilities:

- Assisting with curriculum organization
- Developing independent learning activities and materials
- Developing instructional activities and materials
- Providing instruction in subject areas

Although pupils will be under the direction of both an Academic Counselor and Subject Specialist, final responsibility for making decisions pertaining to pupils rests with the Academic Counselor.

Figure 2.3. Kensington job description for academic counselor

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF KENSINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

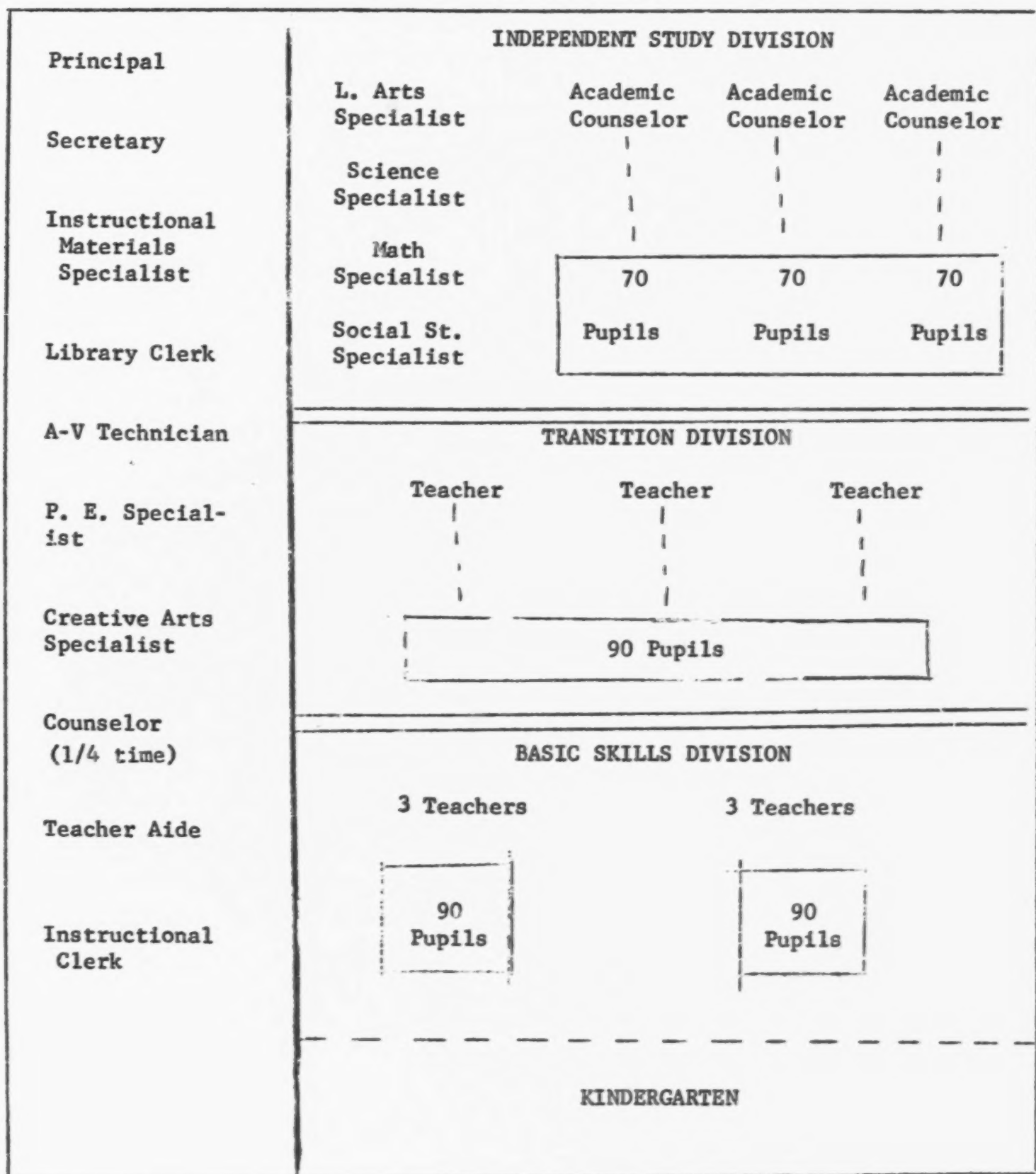


Figure 2.4. Initial statement of Kensington's administrative organization.
(8/17)

tion) and complex intellectual skills areas; and 7) decisions yet to be made regarding particular books, materials and supplies.

Just before coffee time, several further aspects of the schedule were clarified. Most of the time in the workshop they will meet as they see fit in divisions and curriculum committees. They will schedule themselves and the meetings and indicate the time on the bulletin board. On Tuesday, the superintendent will meet briefly with them in the morning. On Wednesday, Dr. Leslie Roberts from City University will meet with them as the beginning of an extended consulting arrangement. Also, the principal asked them to indicate which committees they would like to be on: 1) material and facilities, 2) curriculum coordination, or 3) subcommittees in a) language arts, b) math, c) social studies, d) science, e) creative arts, and f) physical education. The final item concerned "practicing what we preach." The staff will be on individual schedules, the principal will be their "academic counselor," and the staff was asked to fill out daily logs (see Figure 2.5) on their activities. Discussion ensued as to who will read the logs, and at the suggestion of a staff member they decided, in order to facilitate communication, to have them open to everyone.

Insert Figure 2.5 about here

The Divisions

The Divisions, or as they came to be called by the staff: Basic Skills, Transition and I.S.D., were an important and early defined division of labor. These groups began working together in the second week of the

August workshop. Rather than describing in detail the development of the Divisions, we present an introductory overview from the observer's notes of his perception of the way things stood as of mid-workshop, 4:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 25th.

I had a chance to spend a fair amount of time with the Transition Division. By all odds, they are the most smoothly functioning team in the school at this point. Each in his own quiet, unpretentious way, makes suggestions to which the others listen as they go about shaping up a program. Apparently they are interested and pleased in what they have been doing for they don't want to drag another person into their group now. They explicitly told this to Eugene. The shift of them to their temporary quarters in Hillside School came about with no great difficulty in terms of Eugene's suggestion or in terms of their acceding to it. My guess is that they will be a very task oriented set of teachers who will have all kinds of interesting things for the kids and who will blend their own suggestions and initiation with the suggestions and initiations of activities from the pupils. They don't seem to have the cultish aspects of the school program. They seem to make judgments on a reasonable common-sense professional background basis. I was quite impressed. The only major inhibiting factor that I see at this point is that Claire and Dan have not taught extensively. Meg may be a bulwark here if she is as good as I would guess she is.

The basic skills group seemed to be laboring with the consultant, Leslie Roberts, who is pushing them hard and who does not understand that they are a team of four and a team of two rather than a six man team. Carla seemed very set in her ways and is going to do what she wants to do and apparently Mary will integrate without too much difficulty. The other team looks like it might go also. My guess is that Elaine is an old warhorse who is a very experienced and a very agile and a very interesting teacher. Jean has had enough experience to know her way around, and Wanda seems also to be a very stable person. It seems that they will be able to carry Sue well enough until she learns the ropes. If she turns out to have some talent for working with young children, the group then should be able to move along without too much difficulty.

As I summarize the teams, it becomes very interesting that the major reservation seems to lie within the Independent

Study Division. Paul reports that David was in a quiet and unhappy looking mood all day today. I was unable to get any information on this. Paul also reports, as I think I indicated earlier, that Liz has made all kinds of noises of her unhappiness with David and with the way in which the group is going. Perhaps this is the item that upset David. I have no data on that. As I recall now, one of the gals called David on a couple of things yesterday. These had to do with his railroading the group. This may be the reason that he has been quiet. In this group also, Irma is very unhappy and she is apparently thinking of dropping out of the team. She feels she is less adequate for it now than she was when she discussed it last Spring with Eugene. She has been unable to get any kind of a structured role so that she will know what she's going to be doing. Although nothing arose today that I saw or heard about, Kay has this continuing problem of wanting to support David and at the same time seeming to side intellectually with some of the people in the disciplines. This makes her seem to vacillate back and forth between varying points of view. Jack seems to be frustrated in terms of one time wanting to act like a principal and run the meeting. He and Alec look like people who have interests in teaching rather than in some of the other kinds of activity that teachers might be called upon to do. Alec has had minimal experience as far as I know.

The staff left a bit earlier than usual this afternoon. Maybe it is my own feeling but it seemed to me that everyone looked pretty tired. Unfortunately the group has had so little experience generally, and almost none in team teaching, that they are not at the point of waiting and seeing how things begin to develop. They don't realize the kinds of preparation, a la Joe Grannis' chapter in the Shaplin book, that they might be engaged in which would be helpful for the long term haul this semester and year.

Also, they still have so very many procedural problems on how to work together. This seems, in part, to be a function of Eugene's inability to realize that the school is part of a bureaucracy and must have some of these overtones, and secondly that the week of "sensitivity training" is having all kinds of negative transfer effects.

(8/25)

The Institutional Plan: a phrasing of the formal doctrine

Later, we will have a good bit to say about the formal doctrine, the

codified ideology of Kensington. The antecedents of the doctrine, the dimensions of the doctrine, and the consequences are important for this later analysis. During the weeks of the workshop, the Institutional Plan, Shelby's statement of the doctrine, became the focus of considerable discussion as well as the major operational plan for the development of the school. Briefly, the central thrust of the school was to assist pupils in becoming "fully functioning mature human beings." This goal was to be reached through "individualized instruction." The latter was not to be merely differentiation in rate of presentation of material, but differentiation in content as well, that is according to the needs of the individual child. The curriculum was described as "spiral" and it was to accent processes rather than content. The materials were to be individualized rather than packaged as textbooks. Teacher-pupil relations were to be reformulated from such categories as "restriction of pupils" to "freedom for pupils," from "teacher responsibility for teaching" to "pupil responsibility for learning," and from a "closed, rigid social climate" to an "open, flexible social climate." The organization was to move from six rigidly defined levels or grades to three divisions. Within the divisions teachers were to play differentiated roles. In turn, the pupils were to change from being "passive" and "reactive" to being "active" and "initiating."

The committees

While the first week was characterized as the T-group week, the later weeks of the workshop were dominated by the Committees and the Divisions. Cumulatively these events had their immediate consequences and also their longer effects. The number of committees and committee assignments was

quite large and contained overlapping memberships:

1. Curriculum Coordinating Committee (7 members)
2. Curriculum Subcommittee
 1. Language Arts (4)
 2. Mathematics (4)
 3. Science (4)
 4. Social Studies (5)
 5. Creative Arts (5)
3. Facilities Committee (4)
4. Research Committee

Some of the complications of the committee structure appeared in the summary notes early in the third week.

One of Paul's first comments was of the order, "What goes on in the central committee?"⁶ His observations, independent of anything I told him, were that the role of the central committee seemed to change dramatically and that it has taken on a number of different functions which it did not have before. He was curious as to how these had come about. Specifically the kinds of things that he mentioned centered around what he called the committee serving as sort of an assistant principal to Eugene. In effect, they have considerable power and they are being used as an instrument for a variety of policies. I asked him directly about Eugene's behavior and he commented that Eugene in effect was leading the meeting and was running it. I asked him "like an administrator" and he commented "yes." This, in effect, corroborates the behavior I saw earlier in the morning in the same committee. Paul indicated several specifics: listing the agenda items or instrumenting them, and terminating discussion on items when he thought there had been sufficient. To my direct question, Did he sit around and wait for an agenda to develop as has occurred in other meetings, Paul responded "no."

Both of us keep expecting the lid to blow off the whole place when the anxiety of the first day finally mounts with the realization that they aren't organized. This is our prediction, however. Related to it now is a conversation that Paul had with one of the teachers who is extremely irritated at several things: 1) what she perceived to be railroading of items, 2) the inability of

6. A later name for the curriculum coordinating committee.

anybody to get anything done in the committees, and 3) the tremendous amount of committees that she is on. Paul reported that she is on at least three. He has a verbatim quote that went something like, "If things don't straighten out very soon, I'll pack up my bag and go home." This was followed by "You can quote me too."
(11:30 a.m., Tuesday, 8/25)

We are getting some data here that I think should be fairly valuable on the business of conceptualizing the development of a group. The false starts, the trials, the inconsistencies, the agreements, the disagreements, etc. are a very fascinating set of data. (8/20)

Without presenting detailed documentation, suffice it to say that the committees did not produce authoritative position papers. The dilemma of a totally individualized child selected curriculum as opposed to a structured and sequenced set of experiences formulated by adults was not resolved by the curriculum subcommittees. The curriculum coordinating committee had a turbulent history, changed its name to the central committee, and became, during the workshop, the arena for most of the open struggle for leadership in the school

The Kirkham affair

On Friday, August 28th, at the end of the third week, Kensington underwent its most significant trauma; Bill Kirkham was removed as a member of the staff.

The action occurred, formally, during the I.S.D. team meeting. The stated reasons were that his point of view was too different and that he blocked the smooth functioning of the team. Varying opinions existed about the genesis of the action. Some of the staff were more cognizant and involved than the others. Some thought the action had been handled well; others did not think so. Some thought the unsettled team leader role was

critical, others did not. Some thought that Leslie Roberts behaved inappropriately in his consultant role. Some thought the affair arose as a scapegoating mechanism due to the failure of the team to progress. Some thought that Bill and his curriculum ideas were a personal threat to Eugene. There was talk that Bill didn't know it was coming, that he thought it was arranged before the Friday meeting, and that there was more to it than appeared on the surface.

Although the ramifications were incalculable, we have indicated significant aspects in Figure 2.6.

Insert Figure 2.6 about here

The Final Week

Monday

Time falls naturally into weekly units which have ascertainable beginnings and endings. Events often correspond to this naturalness, although August's lingering one more day (the 31st) into the new week seemed to carry overtones of the prior three weeks. While the Milford District was mobilizing itself, through a district wide teachers' meeting, which the Kensington staff attended, and Kensington was to have its first evening parent meeting, the spirit of William Kirkham remained. After the morning exercises of speeches, introductions of new staff and announcements relevant to the new district, the teachers returned to their schools.

On Monday afternoon, Shelby met with the I.S.D. teachers and they

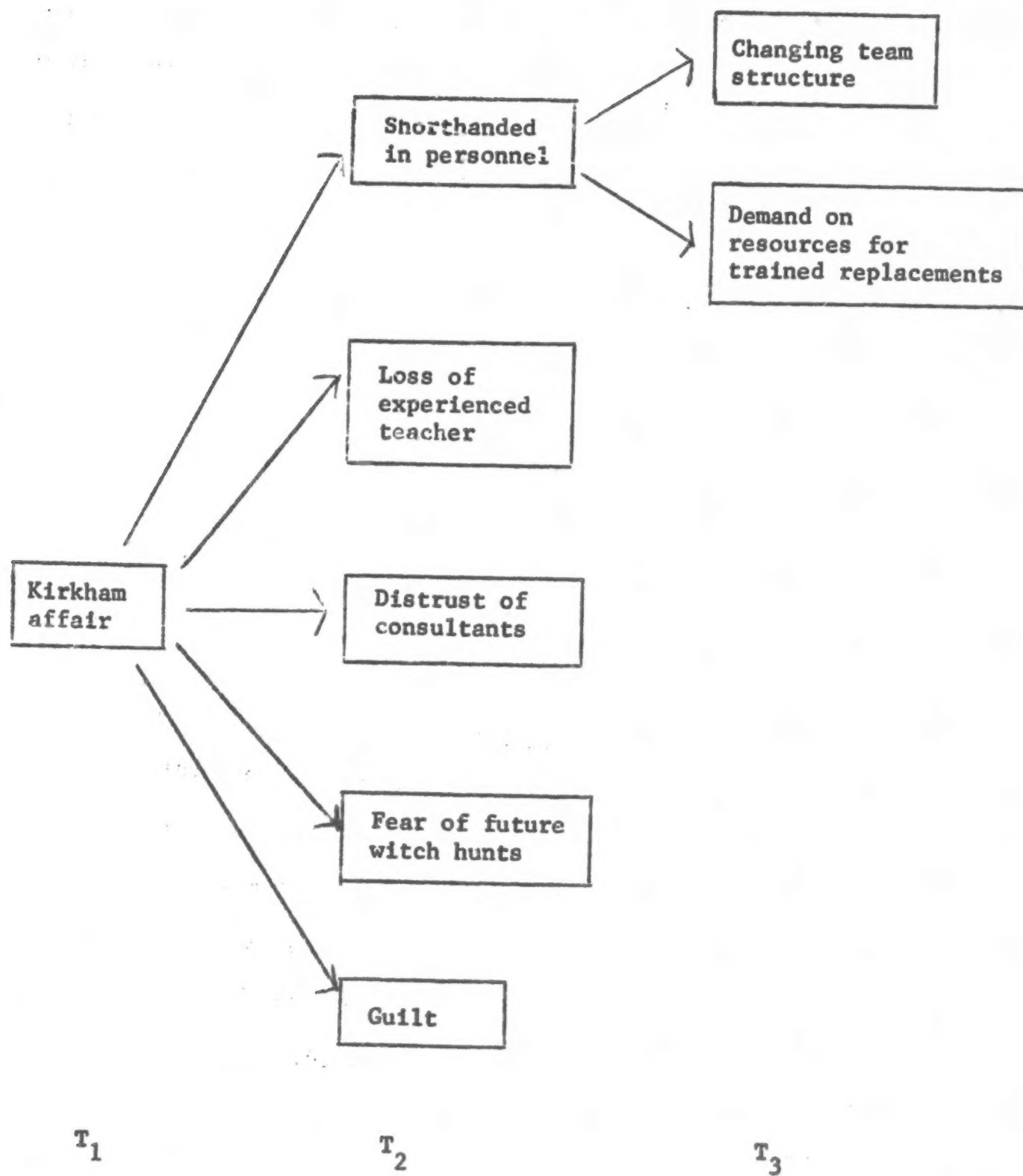


Figure 2.6. Consequences of the Kirkham affair.

spent a half-hour discussing aspects and implications of Kirkham's removal. They then moved to the task of delineating a new organizational pattern. The academic counselor and subject matter resource specialist roles reached some clarity around such points as a) the academic counselor concerned himself with the totality of the child's development; the subject matter specialist primarily concerned himself with development in that resource area and b) the academic counselor decided whether the child, for instance, went to science but did not decide what was done in science. Shelby commented that the biggest responsibility of the academic counselor in the first month would be helping the pupils learn to work independently and interdependently. Decisions were reached to have the children form groups of six as the basic unit. Irma and David were to be the academic counselors. John yielded to pressure to become a "temporary" academic counselor and this was changed later to an assistant academic counselor. Liz and Kay became assistant academic counselors and resource persons in language arts and social studies respectively. Jack and Alec remained resource persons. In the eyes of one of the staff, I.S.D. was working better as Shelby had taken over.

On Monday evening two parent meetings were held in Milford. One, a large protest meeting, reflected continuing community and district conflict with the public schools. The specific issue involved a book and fee assessment which had been levied against each pupil. The roots of the community conflict had a long history: a prior superintendent who had been fired and rehired, a split in the school board, and a reputation in the regional area as a district with problems.

The second meeting, which was repeated on Tuesday and Wednesday

evenings, was a Kensington parents' night in which the principal and staff sought to explain the program. In a pleasant style the principal spoke of the need for understanding between the parents and staff, the organizational structure of the building whose goal was to facilitate individualized learning, and the materials, books and equipment which they will have available. A major concern expressed by the parents centered on confusion regarding bus schedules and knowing where and how the very young children will be transported. Other questions included promotion, grading, and report cards. There were distinct variations in hostility of parents; Monday night was quite strong. The other meetings went more smoothly.

Tuesday and Wednesday⁷

As teams and as individuals, the staff continued preparations during the middle days of the week. The Basic Skills Division was meeting explicitly as a team of 2 and a team of 4.⁸ The 4-team had drawn and cut out a "magic bus" which was to be a focus of initial activities. They were having a difficult time handling it because of a lack of bulletin board surface in their temporary quarters. Perhaps underestimating their accomplishments, they spoke of the day as "not very stimulating or productive." The transition team labored on their plans for the coming week while the tile men resurfaced the floor in their large room (which had been a storage area for

7. For the research program, Wednesday, September 2, was a critical day for Pat Keith joined the research staff. Smith spent the day introducing her to the teachers and the settings.

8. Several alternative team structures, 2, 2, 2 and 3, 3, as well as the 4, 2 arrangements were considered. The 4, 2 resolution solved the most serious aspects of interpersonal staff conflict within the Division.

Hillside and the Milford School District) and the glaziers replaced glass broken from vandalism and informal play in the adjacent area behind the school. The I.S.D. team alternated between working separately on specific tasks and meeting as a group. It was on Wednesday morning in the team meeting that the idea for Training Groups for pupils, initiated by Shelby and responded to warmly by David, was instituted after a brief discussion of discipline and the need for pupils to move from external discipline to internal initiation of activities.

I.S.D. Training Groups

One of the problems of any social system is the socialization of its members. Individuals must be cognizant of goals and means and there must be commitment and conformity to these. As we have indicated, one of the goals of the Kensington School was the moving from external discipline to internal controls among the student body. Mr. Nichols suggested that the faculty state their objectives in the form of questions and allow students to discuss them in small groups. At first, some of the faculty felt that groups of students would be unable to have lengthy discussions about such abstractions. Others felt that an average group would be unable to deal with statements of the school objectives. The Wednesday discussion went this way:

David -- We must internalize the goals of Kensington in the child and I think this can best be done by group process.

Kay -- I agree very much, but will just discussion in small groups do this? This would be abstract.

David -- I think discipline is not abstract. It is a very real issue. Children will come to a variety of conclusions and I would question how they came to this decision.

Eugene -- I feel a teacher will be needed with the group like Lyn and Lois were with us. Perhaps you could take a small group.

David -- I don't care. I do think it is most important though.

(David questions the group as to their response.)

Alec -- I can see it at first, but I feel it requires close supervision--I think it's part of the goals of the school, but I don't think they can do without us at first.

Eugene -- How about letting David do this in small groups for the first few weeks and you all take the rest of this.

(9/2)

Shelby suggested that the faculty have one of the trainers, who was in their August training group session, come in and assist them with the pupil training groups. Kay and Alec expressed positive sentiments toward the idea of bringing a trained person in; however, David, who hoped to be most instrumental in setting up and continuing the groups, voiced less approval than did the others.

It is important to note the support which Shelby gave to the plan and his backing of David. The Principal suggested two sessions per day of one-and-a-half hours each, and he volunteered his help at the same time. Illustrative of his enthusiasm at the time was his mentioning of several persons at City University who might come in and help during the first week's training.

Following Shelby's statements, David commented:

-- I'd be willing to try a group of 10--if children in group are dysfunctional we could remove them.

Eugene -- Oh, no, here you don't want to remove anyone. They have to learn to deal with them, I prefer a group of 8.

(9/2)

There was some brief discussion as to the size of the student training groups and Shelby stated his intent to try to get persons to help in discussion groups.

David -- Do we start first day?

Eugene -- You could. That's the beauty of this. You all don't have to do all things.

David -- I have trouble. I want everyone to agree on everything in our group and I guess it won't always be that way. (9/2)

David asked for feedback as to why the team was rather "cool" to his suggestions on "group process."

Irma -- I feel children are too immature at this by themselves.

Liz -- I think you gave us too much information.

Alec -- I felt it was important but I didn't want to do it.

Liz -- I feel we're segmenting the children too much. If my group doesn't work right should I send them to David or call David in?

David -- No, if you can handle it, fine; if you want help, I'll be glad to help.

It was decided by the I.S.D. faculty that the students would participate in training group sessions conducted by David Nichols. As is indicated from previous statements, David was a strong advocate of the method.

On subsequent days there was discussion as to how to present the idea of training groups to the students. Liz said, "I supposed it would be entirely vocal--David would arise to call 'Follow me.'" Irma commented: "Yes, like a trumpet." The team meeting continued:

Kay -- We could say since we're doing work in groups at Kensington, we think we should know how groups operate.

David -- Good, sure you don't want to run a T-group? I hope they let us make tapes; it's never been done before.

Alec -- Are you going to pull them out of groups that have done tasks? How will you choose the groups?

David -- I've not definitely decided. I definitely don't want natural groups.

Alec -- I'd like for David to pick out groups at the beginning and put them in task groups. Does this have top priority? If you want him, he goes?

(He refers to the composition of training groups.)

David -- I'd like to say yes, but that's not my decision. It's our decision. They can't miss more than one a day (refers to T-group meeting).

Alec -- I've lost all you have said. . .thought it was imperative that they be there.

(David discusses. . .Irma frowns. . .Kay agrees with David. . . but wants him to select groups first so their work won't be so interrupted.)

David -- Think it will do them good to come back to task group. They could forget conflicts.

(The team decided the phrase, training group, was a good name; parents could understand.)

David -- Training groups might facilitate task groups. They give opportunity to be in more relaxed setting. Hard to say what will happen. May give it up after two weeks. Glad you brought it up. . .didn't know you felt it could be imperative. . .I think it's a team decision.

Alec -- Tight groups at beginning may create problems.

David -- Think we will have problem all year with students who are absent.

Alec -- If all the time pupils are there, it means you won't be doing any academic counseling. We'll be short one staff member.

David -- That's right.

Alec -- Personally I feel if you are out all the time--cuts us to 5 man staff working with 180 kids.

David -- Why don't I take one group? Two Training Groups?

Alec -- Once morning; once evening.

Irma -- Won't work.

Liz -- How long in T-group?

David -- Depends on group program.

Liz -- Might have to regroup--might be a group like ours that did nothing.

David -- May have to make it have more flexibility.

Alec -- Make more flexible by having a day. . .if all he does is for 6 weeks.

Liz -- We started calling it group therapy. We must tell them it's not a counseling group.

Kay -- Been a lot of this in psychology last few years. Spooky business for kids; it's scary.

Liz -- (to David) Must realize it's on group process. Lois told us it's not group therapy. Don't try to help individual problems.

David -- Don't see this as a function of a T-group. Do you think I might tend to do this?

Liz -- Yes.

David -- Training groups in morning to academic counseling in the afternoon.

(9/4)

Late in the final week of the workshop, the Independent Study Division reorganized itself to meet an important objective, socialization of pupils

toward the ideals of internal initiation of activities and self-discipline. In so doing they produced a new team role and a new structure in which to work.

Thursday

On Thursday, September 3rd, the day began with what was described as a "nuts and bolts" meeting for the entire staff. The discussions included a number of specific items: 1) Kirkham's replacement, Walt Larsen, was introduced as an assistant teacher. 2) The several teacher aides who were to have vertical responsibilities, that is, with the entire staff, were reassigned to have primary responsibilities by divisions in the separate geographical location. Each team was instructed to work out its own routines with the aides. 3) Parents who refused to pay fees were to be given a list of supplies to buy. 4) A letter to the parents on bus schedules would go out the first day. The buses would be on a double run and the Kensington children would be picked up at 8:55 in the morning and at 4:15 in the evening. Joan Sidney, the aide who has been working on this and on attendance, and who has the precise information, was not present due to her husband's illness. 5) The furniture is to be delivered today. 6) The textbooks, which have been donated, mostly from American Book Company (ABC) are the only ones available and can be checked out today. Similarly, encyclopedias, globes, individualized materials such as the SRA Reading and Writing Laboratories, the Cycloteachers, etc. are available. 7) Expendable materials will be handled on a temporary borrowing procedure. Each team should meet with aides and work out procedures. 8) Individual story books will be checked out six per teacher. Tom commented that the library books would be in tomorrow and he would be working all week-end. Some discussion

ensued on the allocation of funds for library books rather than for texts.

At 9:20 the meeting adjourned for coffee and a small birthday cake for Meg, who was surprised and a bit embarrassed. Most of the staff gathered in the junior high gym which was the central materials headquarters. The I.S.D. team, working from David's sketch, were organizing the space and beginning to move furniture about. Trapezoidal tables would be used for study tables and individual desks would be used as pupil stations.

10:45 As I watch I'm impressed with the confusion. There is one maintenance man assigned to Kensington, according to Tom. Jean commented that what they needed was a half dozen strong high school boys. . . . From the Junior High School custodian's eyes, things are chaotic and will remain so until the first of the year. He cited the delay in getting into the new junior high building three years ago.
(9/3)

On Thursday afternoon, September 3rd, from 1:30 to 4:30 and Friday from 9:00 to 2:30 the I.S.D. team were still meeting to solve the particularized and specific aspects of duties, schedules, geography of the gym and other specific matters.

Friday

A comment in the notes summarizes the last day of preparations.

I made one last tour of all three of the stations. As it stands now, all will be ready to go on Tuesday morning. Ready to go, however, is a quite varied term. In the basic skills division, the split between the 2 team and the 4 team is total and complete. Mary and Carla are probably the most highly organized and most far along in their planning and in their preparation for Tuesday. They will have two rooms over in the high school. The one room is large enough to hold all 60 of their children, and they have it divided up very nicely and very neatly. They both plan on being in the room together. The other room will be mostly their literature and reading and independent work area. The kids will be brought over here by one or the other of

them as the day and the week progress. Some will be allowed to come in by themselves and work independently. They have decided that they will alternate with the groups. Also, as I observed them sorting out books, I was struck again by the fact that Carla is very directive and very dominating of Mary. She tells her what to do, which things to carry, which things to write down, and which things to put where. Mary tended to do these without question. Later when Mary was showing me around the larger room, she commented about the way they were working in the sense that a large tree they have on the north wall and which they will place cutouts of words children learn was originally suggested by her, she reported to me, and Carla then suggested that they make a huge one for the wall, and then another suggestion built upon another suggestion, and so on. The point that she was making is that each of them contributed ideas that seemed to complement the others and make it work together. It seems to me that she has told me this kind of story a number of times, each time almost protesting that she, too, has something to say about what's going on. Again it seems as if it's usually in the context of Carla ordering her about. I still see this as a latent and very important conflict which could erupt if Mary ever were to find some alternative to turn to that she could be secure in, and that would be with someone who is probably as effective in the classroom as Carla is. They have their walls decorated with pictures which Mary explained were cut out from a workbook and with the letters of the alphabet around the room. In the main room they also have science displays and exhibits and also an aquarium and other objects. All in all it looks very attractive. They also have picked off some of the ABC books and the workbooks in reading, social studies books, etc. My guess is that they will be able to operate very easily, and very quickly and without much todo once the day starts. Paul's impression is that it will be a very good standard program, probably the best of any of the teams, but probably with little innovation.

The other part of the basic skills team is moving along although much less rapidly. They are apparently getting considerable help from Dan's wife, Chris, who has been hired for a part-time position. Organizationally, they are ready for the first day, but again from Paul's reports, not much more so. I didn't get any feeling for "At this time we are going to go this way, and at that time we are going to go that way, etc." that he reports from a discussion earlier with them. As it stands now,

the staff will be divided into four rooms with the children and the teachers for the first day; each room will be given a color. Each room also will become an activity type room in the sense that reading will be going on in one, creative arts in another, a messy room in another, and so on. At the moment I am not exactly clear on how this will be instrumented. Paul's report suggests that they aren't clear either beyond this first day. The rooms themselves are currently taking on the decoration and structure of an exciting primary department. Elaine has brought along a puppet booth and literally dozens of puppets which she works with very effectively. She gave us a demonstration of the alligator and a pet dog. Pictures are going up, lines are being put on the floor and so forth. Jean was putting some of the strips down, and Sue was coloring them, while Elaine was working on some other materials, and Wanda was putting stuff on bulletin boards. They have not commandeered any extra help as Mary and Carla had done. They have a teenage boy, a former pupil of Carla's, helping out, and also a teacher from upstairs who is a special friend of Mary's. It is interesting to note that the hired help has been on a catch as catch can basis, not only here but also over at the Hillside center where a group of junior high kids have been helping through Dan's efforts.

(3:30 p.m., 9/3)

In short, each team was moving toward the following Tuesday when the pupils would arrive. A variety of planning and preparatory action had taken place. The month's workshop which began with total school activity in the analysis of group functioning was now concluding with individual team efforts to handle specific and concrete problems of the first days of school.

Chapter Three

The Initial Confrontation with the Pupils

INTRODUCTION

The opening of school, the initial confrontation with the pupils on Tuesday, September the 8th, began the second major phase of Kensington. The month's workshop, a major innovation in itself, had come and gone and with it the T-grouping, the many committees, and the varied planning. The physical plant of the new school had not been finished. Predictions for the completion ranged from several weeks to a semester. The Divisions were to go their geographically separate ways for they were housed in three temporary settings, Milford High School, Milford Junior High School and Hillside Elementary School. The research task became correspondingly more difficult also for our personnel were spread thinner, a major problem in participant observation. The distinctions between "normal" school beginnings, about which there is almost no careful literature with which to make comparisons, the processes unique to the Kensington formal doctrine and program, and the consequences of the temporary setting, remain difficult to tease apart.

I.S.D.: THE INDEPENDENT STUDY DIVISION

Day One

School began in the refurbished gymnasium at 9:10 as the first bus-load of children arrived. The final organization of the room, dittoing of instruction sheets, etc. had occurred over the week-end. The efforts,

energy, and direction of David Nichols were paramount in this.

The temporary physical plant in which the Independent Study Division began operation left a good bit to be desired. The main area was a large open gymnasium, located in Milford's Junior High School. Highboy and low-boy cabinets were available for dividers, and other moveable facilities were accessible. In the room without permanent walls were two hundred students, roughly from age nine through eleven. With them, according to the formal statement, were two academic counselors, four academic resource persons, one physical education resource person, a materials specialist, and an audio-visual technician. In addition to the gymnasium, the Independent Study Division also had use of a wide corridor with windows along each side. Faculty desks were placed in the hallway along with some tables for individual study and projects, and one area for instruction. A stairwell leading to the basement was also used for pupil training groups and small instructional groups. The playing floor of the gymnasium was covered with pieces of plywood which were taped together and with wear began to pull apart. The student restrooms were shared with Junior High pupils and were located in the main part of the building away from the gymnasium.

All of the teachers arrived early with the exception of Walt Larsen, Kirkham's replacement who came at 9:15. The staff spread themselves out to usher the children from the busses, through the hallways and into groups of six located at their own discretion somewhere in the large room. Most of these groups seem to fall along sex lines, and along age and grade levels as well as friendship. The notes capture an early moment or two:

9:20 A quick check of station area indicates that most of the groups of 6's are along sex lines. Only one group in about ten is mixed at this point. Kids move down line reasonably easily. Jack and Kay help. John and Walt get the athletic equipment sorted out.

The noise level continues to rise slowly as the number of children increases. The temperature and humidity also seem to be increasing gradually. Liz, for instance, is very warm and predicts some of the kids will be ill.

9:27 At least one parent angry over buses: "I've been trying to find out for two weeks."

Tom and Arthur in hall. Alec is at door. Kay and Jack are at tables. Irma is in her room. Mrs. Beacon is at her desk, registering, etc.

9:30 About a half dozen tables are empty. Probably one more busload due in. Teachers are milling about. Walt still filling out a schedule. Mrs. Spanman here with sons and with a baby in arms. She talks to Irma. Leaves son. Tom drinks a cup of coffee. Kay asks me if I've got "chaos" written down yet.

9:40 I'm in back of David's area. Kay, Liz, David, Jack and Alec circulate from table to table helping the groups get started. Kay does this with consummate skill. Tom is in to help also. The teachers are all very warm. The children gradually get the idea of what to do and start making name tags.

9:43 John and Irma break their group into two parts. John has his in south hall. Irma stays in gym. She has them pull out blue sheet on miscellaneous information and begins to explain.¹

Later in the morning, after a cup of coffee, the observer tried to grapple with the totality of the sense impressions coming in upon him.

10:45 I'm back from coffee. The sign-up is going full blast, 8-10 groups. David is holding his first T-group.

1. The explanations involved sheets of paper indicating classes and class times for instruction. These were attached to the bulletin boards on the movable highboys. Pupils were to sign for classes, scheduling both hours and days.

They're reading the Weekly Reader or a similar paper. A brief survey indicates the kids are milling all about the gym; the sign-up area is jammed. Half a dozen kids are in line at the water fountain; some exploratory behavior in and out among the high and lowboy cabinets begins. Also there is some horseplay--poking, tripping, and hide and seek. Some children sit at tables and gaze about. The 11:00 T-groups start to assemble. David directs Arthur to tell them to wait in Area 3. Some of kids, one group of girls, playing volleyball on playground. Jack, Kay, Alec, Arthur, etc., help kids sign up.

- 11:02 As I wander about and talk with individual groups, most seem to have some of the scheduling accomplished. A few sit and wait because the sign up area is too crowded. Some of the younger kids seem especially lost. One group of older boys are frustrated because they have four things in but can't work in fifth--which is P. E.

To this point, the only formal instructional activity I've seen is David's group reading the Weekly Reader. All the others are trying to solve scheduling problems. So far, no tempers are frayed nor do I see any serious discipline problems. Teachers help moving from group to group and trying to keep kids moving along on the schedules. Major instructional activity will be this afternoon.

The noise--mostly the chatter of the kids--continues unabated. I personally am about to get a headache.

- 11:10 Gaining attention of total group, those cared for by an academic counselor, is extremely difficult. Irma taps pencil on desk but this is pretty much in vain. Her group picks up chairs and moves to resource area. She obtains cooperation easily, talks quietly to individuals, dyads, and triads.

A final excerpt from the field notes continues our attempt to picture concretely the way the first morning went.

- 11:35 I'm spending just a moment or two in David's T-group. No one says anything. He sits. The kids (4 boys and 3 girls) writhe around literally and look like chained, muted animals. They don't seem to know what's happening. They look like they want to leave the situation. Some keep looking down toward sign up boards. Mostly

they look restless, uncomfortable, bored, and hot.

11:50 I continue to circulate. Several groups in the north area of the gym have obtained reading books and are making desultory overtures at reading. One girl comments--"This doesn't seem like school." Another child reads a copy of Children's Digest which she brought from home. Some of the boys draw airplanes and tank war scenes. There's a tremendous amount of listless behavior. Kids are sitting and not quite knowing what to do. At this moment only 2/15 groups I see are reading.

12:05 On the south side, 3 groups are reading. Four groups (3 of boys, and 1 girls and boys) have come up with modeling clay. They're excited as they pound, roll and form the clay. Snakes, lady in a bathtub, and a pistol are some of the products. The kids push the forms into a glob and make something else. In general, there seems to be less of the listless type behavior here. John and Irma keep at it steadily. On the other side, David is with his T-group, Jack sits in hall to prevent kids from going to restroom during the junior high lunch hour. Alec and Liz have been at sign up boards. Kay is tiring.²

The TV is on over by the south wall.

Late in the afternoon, the observer returned from brief stops with Transition and Basic Skills. The notes indicated the close of the day in I.S.D.

3:30 Back at the Junior High and I.S.D.

Confusion still reigns. Kay has just left her group because they wouldn't do anything. Alec teaching a math lesson. Essentially, he is asking "How many ways can you write the number ten?" He's got a long list of eights on the board $4 + 4 = 8$, $5 + 3 = 8$, $3 + 5 = 8$, etc. The assignment for tomorrow is the ten's. They can make posters or other art-type projects. He wants them to bring these in next time and he tells them of games and other activities and things that they can do in resource center. He asks them to schedule him once or twice more

2. She was hampered all Fall from a summer bout of infectious mononucleosis; her physical stamina was not at her pre-illness level.

this week. A minority of the kids seem right with him. Many, though, seem vague and faraway. (Background noise is loud. Some kids are running, etc.) He asks them to plan when they want to come in and what they want to talk about. He'll have a schedule ready tomorrow for the remainder of the week. He tosses out a variety of suggestions.

3:45 Break to stations, the desks where they store their materials.

3:55 In Irma's section, most of children are filling out their work sheets.³ She and John move among children and help them by answering questions and giving directions. As I wandered about a group of boys were at each TV set. Size varies from about 2 to 12. A few of the older and brighter kids seem able to handle freedom and work along on their log sheets. Others talk and wander.

4:05 The staff seems exhausted. David indicates there will be an 8:00 A.M. staff meeting tomorrow morning. The children are practically unsupervised. Irma is at a CTA (Community Teachers Association) meeting. Tom has a half dozen he's talking to. Liz is wandering still. Jack has been out in hall. Arthur and Mrs. Beacon distribute bus tickets and an envelope regarding health (I think). Alec also has kept away from stations. The noise continues full blast. A few kids sign up for things.

The teachers have reported that the kids forget times they have signed up for. A few comment they don't want any more language arts, etc.

There has been some scattered painting with water colors and a few of these have been posted about. Some of the kids have watched a lot of TV, some have stood in the cool south stairway. There has been very little P.E. this afternoon. No one has been on the field since I've been back. I checked, and Walt has scratched off the last hour and a half.

4:13 Kids start toward doors. The buses are not here as yet. Almost all of the kids have a book and their packet of papers.

3. These are the daily logs indicating the pupils' activities.

4:20 Kids lined up in north hall by bus. No one knows when or where the buses will come. Alec handles the major disciplining of quieting them and calling out bus sections. David, Tom, and aides help line up kids.

4:45 Buses arrive.

The observer noted early in the morning of the first day that the children were all "well dressed and well scrubbed." Later he commented on their social behavior:

It's now 5:00 P.M. The buses were a half hour late, and didn't arrive until 4:45. The kids stood around in the hall and some in the gym for the half hour as they waited for the buses. Essentially they were a very orderly bunch who didn't raise much difficulty at all. I'm continuously struck at how different the children are from those last year at the Washington School (see Smith and Geoffrey, 1965). The nonsense and the horseplay of a year ago just doesn't appear at this school. The defiance, the surliness and the hostility are not present. Here, the teachers can leave the children unsupervised and they don't break out in fighting, name calling, and antagonisms. The "instinct of aggression" has been either bred out or trained out of these children. This contrast is one of the most instructive things so far about the experience here at Kensington. (9/8)

Continuous Reorganization

The Independent Study Division did not reach a simple equilibrium. Continuous reorganization of both staff and pupil was the mode of approach as long as they remained in the temporary quarters. Each change, as we will argue later, brought a series of unanticipated consequences with which the division then had to cope. Enumerating the sequence of changes and brief interpolations of comments defines this aspect of I.S.D.

The original organizational structure

In the discussion of the preschool workshop, the framework of I.S.D.

was spelled out. Basically, the Institutional Plan and supplementary documents (Figures 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) specified that there would be three academic counselors and four resource persons. Each counselor was to engage in diagnosing grouping, scheduling and evaluating of approximately 20 pupils. The resource or subject matter specialists were to provide individual and group instruction, develop instructional activities and materials and engage in curriculum organization. With the removal of Kirkham at the end of the third week of the summer workshop, and with the brief but significant delay (time was very short) in replacing him, I.S.D. reorganized into its opening framework.

The second structure

The crucial elements of the second structure, the first reorganization, we have described partially in the events of the first day. The pupils were organized into groups of six. The groups scheduled their activities on sign up sheets posted in the central area of the gym. Some of the pupils spent a part of the day in Training groups. At the close of the second day of school, September 9th, plans were made to change this structure.

It seemed that another possibility which had not been taken into account was that the students might not yet be able to work in a program of this nature that requires much pupil responsibility. When the staff spoke of changing pupil roles, they seldom mentioned the necessity of equipping them with techniques that would insure the pupil's facility in performing the role. Perhaps, in effect, the students in I.S.D. were assumed to be beginning at a higher level of competence than they had yet

reached. This was most clearly illustrated to the staff by the student logs. The logs were to be a daily record, kept by each student. They included what classes he had and something about what he had done and his feelings about the work. Each student was to have a half hour at the end of the day to fill in logs. In regard to the first day and the logs, Irma noted that she "had a good many who couldn't write and they talked about how they couldn't fill them in." John also mentioned that some of the younger students are unable to fill in logs by themselves and "hardly with supervision." Alec stated that there's "no trouble when they're with one of us. The other time is hardest."

Another problem area closely related to that of pupils' lack of necessary skills was that of scheduling classes. A part of the pupil's initial difficulty was seen by some of the faculty as having its source in the procedures the children were to follow. How the pupils were to "sign up" for instruction was not uniformly perceived by the faculty. Originally the students were to be grouped by friendship rather than by interest; however, some were not in groups and thus were unable to schedule with a group. They were described as "running around a lot and not having schedule forms." Group membership was seen as a problem. "Some are not functioning with the group at all." The scheduling was, in Shelby's words, a "strategy for making sure pupils assume responsibility." However, as pupil confusion related to scheduling within groups came to be seen as a problem, there were differences among the faculty as to whether the individual or the group should be the element toward which programming was slanted. Even within the groups, as is noted, there were difficulties involving the laxness of pupil acceptance of responsibility. John expressed a general

sentiment based on the observation of the students the first two days of school: "Most haven't experienced this. Some had a ball watching TV. I know a girl who spent two hours viewing it." Jack and Alec agreed about the children who'd been watching TV. The transcription below shows the way most of the I.S.D. Team were handling similar situations in the early days of school:

David -- (in response to John) What did you do?

John -- I asked about their groups. I tried to question them about the best use of time.

David -- That's my feeling and approach. I ask to meet that group for fifteen minutes and try to work it out in the structure of the group.

John -- Up to a point this works. . . .Lots needs to be done if it will function at all. The group is the basic unit if it's significant.

David -- I tried to make it clear. It is important that they learn. Group pressure is strong.

Alec -- One boy was in a T-group half the morning; three others were in the other half. It (the group) can't function at all.

Eugene -- The small group is not the best basic unit.

Alec -- I told them not to come as a group, but to schedule as individuals according to interests.

Even when students were permitted to "sign up" individually regardless of the action of their group, some were still unable to perform the procedure. Prior to the decision to have a self-contained classroom for those without proper techniques of one kind or another, Eugene stated that, "you get freedom when you assume responsibility. Should we have controls and put some in a situation until they do?" Jack: "Could we develop a list of pupils for a self-contained setting? Would that solve the problem for those who can't assume responsibility?"

David -- I have no objection, but do not place them indiscriminately. Some are struggling like hell.

Eugene -- Where's the burden of proof? Will we put them in before they've had a chance to prove themselves?

Tom -- This is the way we work with children at home.

Irma -- When do we start? First we had no brakes and then we put them on. We started with no controls. It's lots harder now. It's easier to loosen up rather than tighten up.

Eugene -- (Much later) Can we identify pupils for a structured setting?

(Tom cites a case in which two students are holding up fourteen.)

Eugene -- How many are like this?

Tom -- About 20%. . . They haven't had the training. Maybe we should back up and give it to them.

Alec -- Some need one teacher. They're not ready.

Eugene -- We've said pupils responsible. We might have to reverse it.

Tom -- It doesn't have to be all year, David.

Alec -- One teacher and some of us coming in would be a big step for some.

Eugene -- I asked Irma privately if she'd be willing to take it. She said 'yes'.

In response to the number of students who were unable to schedule instruction, engage in independent study, and move in the program, on Day 2 the I.S.D. team decided on a self-contained room.

It was decided that identification of pupils for the self-contained group would begin the following day. Irma's group were to have access to the math resource person 40 minutes daily and the science resource person three days a week.

Scheduling was dealt with most intensively at a meeting of I.S.D. on September 9. The team was to decide the length of class periods and the scheduling procedure. The meetings surrounding the problem were lengthy and as there were no precedents with which to compare and contrast, the difficulty in coordination was pronounced. The following segment is a sample of the early problems of the attempt to implement student scheduling.

Liz -- If you have a 45 minute period. . .

Alec -- How can you have a 45 minute period?

Liz -- Well, if you let them schedule their own.

Irma -- What about the group plan? Are we going to let them

stay in groups?

Alec -- Yes, but they may work independently.

(David points out that they may not be able to keep permanent groups--not "flexible"--more security at first--permanent groups--can form subgroups.)

David -- It is going to require skills in scheduling. . .
I hadn't realized it is essential to the whole thing
. . .should we schedule the first week and go from there?

(Liz doesn't know exactly how much time she needs.)

(Kay wants 30 minute time periods at first.)

(David wants a schedule so that periods can be 15 minutes to an hour. A time schedule sheet to schedule groups 50 minutes to an hour.)

It was determined that schedules would be posted on highboy bulletin boards and students would "sign up" by groups whose names the students chose. The pupils were to have a half hour at the last of the day to fill in logs.

As a consequence of the difficulties, individual scheduling replaced group "signing up" in an attempt to keep closer check on pupil activity. David defended group scheduling on the basis of its social aspects and its enabling students to learn to work in groups. Others felt that the groups would form naturally and favored letting social groups come as they would. David, on the other hand continued to maintain that children should leave groups only by mutual consent with pupil groupings and they should learn how to cope. His view was opposed by Shelby, Tom, Alec, and Irma.

The decision to change the scheduling was announced to the students to be effected the following week. In reply to a student's question about the problem of pupils erasing others names from schedule sheets, Alec replied: "This freedom we don't have. We can't erase names. I hope it doesn't happen again. We don't want to have to tell you everything you

do. . . .For that reason don't erase them. If the group is filled up, tell instructor."

The early difficulties of the students served to highlight the importance of clearly defined and delegated decision-making areas in the mobilization of the staff. At least two staff members and the Principal were unsure as to what their roles were. At the second day's meeting, Mr. Shelby spoke of the lack of clarity in his role. He cited it as a "personal problem" and that he didn't know "whether to lead, be a resource person, or just a member of the group." This lack of clarity existed for the materials specialist also, for he noted several times that he recognized things that needed attention but he didn't know whether or not they were in his area or under his jurisdiction. A part of this lack of clarity seems to have grown from the initial assumption that the faculty structure would entail no hierarchy but rather all would have equivalent opportunities for decision and action. Walt's role was also undefined. The ambiguity of the situation was to become more pronounced as reorganization in I.S.D. was attempted.

David, who originally was to have been a full-time academic counselor, became the director of the student training groups. Thus, one of the regular staff members was to devote a part of his time to a task not provided for in the initial organizational plans. As is stated later, sentiments of the faculty toward the continuation and value of the sessions were not always favorable. Eventually the need for more personnel to be in contact with and accessible to greater numbers of students took precedence and the T-groups were discontinued.

When Irma, who with David was the other academic counselor, was assigned a self-contained group, the organizational structure was further

changed. The consequences of these two deviations from the original plan were not clearly foreseen.

The third structure

Thus, I.S.D.'s major reorganization involved providing for a self-contained group with one teacher. The next day was followed by a team meeting that met until 7:30 P.M., at which the faculty arrived at other major changes. Each of the resource people was to have a designated teaching station at which he worked consistently, and during the course of the day he had from 40-45 students in each of four sessions in his subject matter area. In addition to this, he spent some time with Irma's pupils in the self-contained group. Another change centered around John, the physical education resource person; at this time he was freed to assume his duties as a full-time resource person in physical education, for which he was employed. The children were to be in a six block schedule: language arts, science, math, social studies, physical education and training groups. David's total schedule was student training groups; these left him free in the afternoon. As a contrast, both the math resource person and the physical education resource person were having difficulties finding free time to eat lunch and spend time with the self-contained group, which was taking their former free period.

The above changes were essentially a shift to large group instruction which the program had initially sought to escape. The modification was made at Principal Shelby's instigation, and his change was made in response to parental reaction. Each faculty member, however, saw this as being effected primarily under Shelby's impetus. As the statements below indicate,

teacher sentiments were varied as of September 14.

Tom -- We've lost a battle but not the war. I fear the school would have blown up. I see it as necessary if the school is going to continue.

At this point also, in the development of the team, Tom seemed to fill an unofficial role of coordinator and acting principal.

Kay -- I'm quite opposed. I don't like the large group instruction, and it doesn't fit what I want to do.

Jack -- I'm in agreement. This is more what I wanted anyway. I can't see how you can run a program any other way.

Liz -- I'm unhappy that I don't have materials with which to work.

Alec -- I see it as a necessary setback. I will have some of my groups on independent projects immediately.

John -- I'm pleased to be back in Physical Education. Someone else suggested it, but I am in agreement.

David expressed the dominant feeling that large group instruction was a necessity at that point. At the time, he was still engaged as T-group trainer and was happy with the position and regarded it as essential. Some days later other staff members expressed feelings that David's training groups gave him a tighter load than they, and they subsequently voted to discontinue the groups.

Walt was not present at the meeting. It will be remembered that he was a replacement for Bill who was removed. Shelby had told Walt that he did not have to attend team meetings in that he might be at Kensington four days or four weeks. The consequences of the failure to make an attempt to integrate Walt into the I.S.D. team were pronounced. His ill-defined role has already been mentioned, yet he was criticized by many of the faculty for not assuming a definite stance in the organization. Presumably he might have been a valuable asset in the weeks following the reorganization when, in effect, both academic counselors directed their energies elsewhere to

training groups and the self-contained room. When problems of order were in need of attention, and all other faculty resources were engaged, he had no directive or job definition within which to operate.

Statements cannot be made as to what his effectiveness might have been had his position been clarified; however, the fact remains that few attempts at "building him into the faculty" were made and, if anything, were discouraged. He, in turn, showed little or no initiative. This seems a significant issue in staff utilization at a time when extra personnel were needed.

Another parent meeting

The Kensington program intended close working relationships between home and school. On Wednesday, September 16th, during the second week of school, an open house was held for the I.S.D. parents. The notes dictated late that evening clarify additional aspects of Kensington.

I've just come from a long parent-teachers meeting at the Kensington school. As I listened to the program develop, it seemed to me, logically, that one way of organizing the notes would be to list and comment upon the questions which were asked. As the evening wore on, I also had a number of more generalized affective as well as cognitive responses. For instance, I had the very strong impression that the parents were asking quite specific, quite pertinent and quite thorny questions. It seemed to me that almost universally they were right on the point. Second, I had the feeling that the parents, while they varied in the degree of hostility and support they had toward the program, were very sincere and very concerned about their children. Third, I kept wondering what educational psychology as a science of behavior had to say to these teachers and to these parents. The phrasing of the questions, the problems that were being attended to, and the complexity defy most of current theory and research.

More specifically, on the questions that were being asked: First, one man was concerned about the question of how the teachers knew what the individual children

were doing. He raised it in the context of Alec's math program in which Alec had 200 students. He just didn't see how it could be possible in those conditions. Alec's answer here, it seems, was caught on the program of a week ago, the program this week, and the ideal program. Nowhere did he or anyone else make clear the fact that these were three different kinds of programs and some of them could not be defended. The questions could not be answered and the issues defended on one aspect where they could on another. Second, one woman asked why they had physical education (PE) every day even though they have the short program.⁴ As far as I know, the staff had not thought about the educational soundness of PE in the shortened program. The PE program seems like a very reasonable and plausible alternative, and as it is set up now, basically it gives everybody a free period in which to do other work and to have a cup of coffee. While it would involve some messy scheduling problems, it also suggests the very viable way to alter the program to get more instructional time or T-group type time into the program. Third, there was a question raised about how the children make up the time that's lost in the T-groups. However, no one took off here on whether the T-group was a wise idea or not. Fourth, a parent asked about the spelling program and when the children would get specific instruction in this. This typically was handled by both Irma and Eugene in terms of the words the kids actually used and learning how to spell those. Fifth, the question of communicating with parents about the child's difficulties and how this would be done was raised, and here the parent conference answer was not wholly viable because the teachers each have 200 kids and they can't have 200 conferences. In this also it seems that the alteration of the program to its current status left many aspects undefendable in the same way that last week's part of the program left many aspects undefendable. For instance, conferences would be the academic counselor's job, yet now they do not have an academic counselor. The staff was hooked on all kinds of ifs, and buts, and ands. Sixth, the question was raised about what happens to the kids if these two years, or however long, turn out to be a failure. Here, again, the risk aspect was just not faced up to. Seventh, the question was raised about what would happen to the

4. This was a reference to the shortened school day which was instituted for a while in the temporary quarters and which later drew unfavorable judgment from the State Department.

kids if they went into junior high this next year. This got everybody involved in a discussion about the rumors that the whole system was moving toward the Kensington type program. When Eugene indicated this he immediately was faced with the question of how fast and when and what would happen at Hillside next year. He was called upon to make more specific answers than he had any information about and any ability to answer. Eight, there was considerable discussion about one of the math assignments that Alec had made that ran some 16 or 20 pages. He apparently had left it open-ended as to when they would have it done and one man's daughter was very conscientious and didn't know whether she should have it all done by tomorrow or whether it should take a longer period of time. The father was very upset about this lack of clarity. There was a question raised also about the kids who were put off into the special section and the possible repercussions of this. This is an interesting one in that little consideration was given to what the children thought or what the other children thought. (My personal guess would be, and it's kind of a superficial one, that there's been so much hubbub and shifting and changing around that there is little or no discrimination by the children toward each other on the basis of anything of this kind. In that sense, when everything is confused and from the children's point of view, I suppose, quite disorganized, it's impossible to feel that you are being discriminated against. You never know for sure just exactly what's happening to anybody else.)

There was also in the group considerable support for the school. Some of this was of a back-handed sort in that one couple commented about how unhappy they've been with St. Marys School which had had a new math program every year for the last three years and their daughter was terribly confused about it. Others were obviously caught by the excitement of the possibilities of the program and were urging "patience," "let's see," and "give them more than a week and a half." Blended into this was the very strong aspirations many of these parents have for the children. For instance, many of the parents want their children to have advantages that they didn't have. They want them to compensate for mistakes they felt had been made in their own educational program. They want them to be able to accomplish things that they themselves had not accomplished. Related to this also, it seemed to me, were problems that the parents were having with their children or problems the kids had had in the school or in other schools. This was perhaps best

typified by the man who carried the brunt of the dissatisfaction. He has a son in junior high who apparently is a real goof off and won't do a damn thing and a daughter who is overly conscientious and is concerned that everything be right. He's mad at the Milford Junior High School and their program; he's mad at Kensington and their program, and my guess would be, he will be unhappy all along the line no matter what happened to his children in so far as it didn't shift them from these two extreme sorts of responses. (9/16)

The school was involved intimately with the parents. At the evening meetings difficult questions were raised. While a few parents seemed to be displacing their hostility on a convenient target, most seemed to have a picture of the public school as a vehicle for the better life which they wanted for their children. They wanted to be sure that the new program would facilitate this major goal.

The continuous coping with unanticipated consequences

At one point in our data analysis we thought of subtitling the monograph, "organizational change, the continuous coping with latent and unanticipated consequences." The thesis we saw was that each resolution of a tremendously difficult and complex problem created a host of consequences, new problems, which, at best, had only been partially foreseen. I.S.D.'s third structure was soon to give way with the dissolution of the self-contained class and the elimination of the training groups. Rumors were rife concerning the removal of some of the I.S.D. staff and also the replacement of I.S.D. staff with one or more of the Basic Skills staff. Neither of these events came to pass. However, dissatisfaction with the instructional program and continued serious interpersonal staff conflict and hostility led, on November 3rd, to the major reorganization of I.S.D.

into two teams. The gym was split into the North and South. This separation seemed of great importance to the research team and since it was accompanied by the physical closing of a huge gymnasium room divider, the investigators among themselves referred to it as Kensington's Berlin Wall. Later, further changes occurred as the North team split once again into a self-contained classroom and a team of two. The program in both sides of I.S.D. included some "teaming" in the sense of joint planning and some departmentalization although most of the instruction occurred in the context of the self-contained classroom.

The consequences varied from mundane to major. All seemed to pose special problems. Selections from the field notes illustrate these.

One of the more striking aspects of the team meeting of I.S.D. centered on the impact of the split into two teams on minor events, such as the availability of tempera paints, and whether they should be stored in a central unit, and whether there would be any if they were stored in a central unit when you looked for them. This kept raising the fair share type issue. The unit about which people organize their thoughts is now a team of 3 rather than an individual of one or a team of 6. Books, supplies, passageways, time for lunch, entrances and exits, etc., all need to be reconsidered and settled. (11/7)

Several of the more significant consequences were noted a short time later.

At the close of the day I had a chance to chat briefly with Liz, Kay and Alec, individually and together. The North Side seems to have resolved its division into 3 relatively self-contained classrooms. This distresses Liz to a very great extent and Kay almost not at all. Kay foresees a shift coming shortly as they begin to move about for instructional purposes. Liz, literally, is not prepared to teach elementary in all the subject matter areas and just doesn't know what to do. She has little conception of how to organize and set up a science program or organize and set up a math program, etc. She is a very interesting example of someone trained for a speciality and then the speciality collapses. Now she must be an all-purpose kind of person and she doesn't have the skills or the know-

ledge to carry it out. Earlier, when the teams had been compared on experience, it wasn't experience so much that was critical, but rather the lack of training, especially in the case of Liz. Added to this is the fact that David has very strong preferences not to instruct at all; these two in combination give the team its unhappy flavor. They do have an important foothold on the discipline problem which they may or may not realize. The classes were much more orderly on the North Side than I've ever seen them. This is especially true of Liz's. Now would be an optimal time for her to strike and develop "challenging" lessons. She apparently does not have the resources to do it; the school, the team and Eugene are not there to provide it. Some very simple instruction and help in a repetitive style of traditional teaching could get the instructional program off the ground. (11/11)

Additionally, some of the early attempts to conceptualize events occurred during the same period.

At the time, the researchers phrased the problem as the impact of the internal back upon the external system. Or, in other terms, the impact of the informal organization upon the formal structure or formal organization. With almost no consideration to the explicit problems of the learning objectives for pupils, and of means of reaching these, the reorganization was brought about because various team members had considerable difficulty working with each other. We should note also that there was some concern about the departmentalization and the fact that this was a far cry from the team setup that most of them had desired initially. It redid the formal structure in the sense of eliminating academic counselors and making everyone an instructor. It shifted the movement of the students through the school day to a very different pattern. Specialization is retained with John but with practically no one else. Until things settle down some, they will go at their teaching in this self-contained fashion. There are consequences in terms of the way kids go to lunch and with whom they eat. There are also consequences of which kids are working with which kids. A variety of aspects of friendship structure patterns have been broken up. Several kids have commented within earshot of either Pat or me that they wish they were with their friends or could they switch and be with their friends. Some of this is within North and South and some of them between North and South. Some of the same old language arts

difficulties on the South Side recur with Jack and Alec, especially when Jack had to teach some of these things. While the South side three may have an easy and friendly social and ideological compatability, they may get hung up also on the specialization skills that do not fit the current situation.

The interplay in other schools and situations between the domination of the textbook for a vehicle which puts you through areas that you don't know well and second, as an easy set of program decisions which then saves you time for other things, or just saves you time in terms of the heavy wear and tear of teaching, seems more and more cogent. Part of the parameters of this seem to be how many things can one be creative about and excited about at one time. Is it better to do a major exciting, innovative job in language arts and social studies and give a kind of ride in science and math or in another 2 areas or 1 or 3 rather than 6 or 7. This seems particularly true for a new teacher who has, I guess, a number of things to learn.

(11/11)

The complexity of the interpersonal relationships content of the doctrine, and the difficult position of the administrator are seen clearly as the observers tried to sort out events after the split into North and South teams.

It's 11:20. I've just come from a short tour of independent study and a long conversation or two. My express purpose was to answer a question of Pat's concerning the split between David and the two girls, Liz and Kay. The story is apparently this: on Saturday Eugene held a sub team meeting with the North I.S.D. people. Apparently they could not get David to make any kind of compromises and toe in with the group. Apparently, also, there was the continuing problem of whenever he would agree to something he would not necessarily stick by the decision. If a whim hit him, he would alter in some other direction. This promoted the chaos that it has all year. David had a long talk with Tom on Sunday afternoon early and Liz and Kay had a long talk with Tom on Sunday afternoon late. Tom commented, he'd done his best to stay out of the team business. On Monday, noon, the girls decided to tell David that they were going it independently of him. David was unhappy and upset and took this as a personal slight and a personal attack rather than as an attack on some of his beliefs or ways of doing things.

He has a severe problem in not being able to disassociate his personal involvement from things that he does and actions and stands that he takes. Tom had tried on a number of occasions and did again point out that he can like a person and still disagree violently with some of the things that the person says or believes.

(11/17)

It's now 1:00 p.m., I just finished lunch and a two hour discussion. The girls came to the Saturday afternoon meeting pretty well with their minds made up that they couldn't work with David. They saw him as being uncompromising. They wanted to put some order in the day, for instance, having the time for arithmetic, the time for reading, etc. David would have none of this, he wanted the kids to schedule their own activities at the time they wanted to. The most that he would budge from this would be to have a sliding schedule of reading at 9:00 on Monday, 10:00 on Tuesday, etc. He presented a rationale in terms of the goals and objectives of the Kensington program for his general position of the kids scheduling their own work. He didn't think that Liz and Kay presented a better rationale or one that could cope with the situation as well as his could. (LMS--In my own judgment, you get a guy as bright as David and as verbal as he is, and he can talk circles around anyone even though they have some kind of intuitive feeling that they know he's wrong.)

Eugene commented also that he felt a little bit caught, for David's ideas were very close to his own, and yet David wouldn't put any amount of structure into the situation. Eugene saw this as total laissez-faire. Tom, earlier, had commented that David saw his position as similar to Rousseau's and that was a bunch of nonsense and poppycock. (LMS--Implicitly, however, it seems there is this continuing problem that David does have a position very close to Eugene's and Eugene is not eager to sit on it.)

In the discussions on Saturday afternoon the various kinds of divisions of the North side were discussed. Eugene suggested a two and one split with Kay and Liz working together and David being independent. This would promote a good bit more freedom for David in certain respects. Another split was the one-one-one self-contained which they have now; a third would be to have a total group of 100 with one person as the central responsible person and the other two as resource persons. Eugene doesn't think that this would work out, although

at some time he'd like to see the idea implemented for it's very close to his original conception of academic counselors. (11/17)

TRANSITION

Kensington to a Child: Transition Division

Anon, to sudden silence won,
In fancy they pursue
The dream-child moving through a land
Of wonders wild and new,
In friendly chat with bird or beast--
And half believe it true. (Alice in Wonderland)

This was innovative Kensington to the nine year old. These were the many fancies, dreams, and wonders he encountered.

In the transition, his pursuits begin with 95 other students in one room. He is free to choose a desk and chair and is introduced to three teachers, two of whom have no previous teaching experience.

One of his instructors, or academic counselors, feels a bit uncertain, "I'm in knots. I'll observe today and you can teach. I don't know where we're going."

There are colors, cardboard, toothpicks, pipe cleaners and styrofoam. Varied shades, shapes, and fabric are bits and pieces of the room. Some are new; "Children are chewing, twisting and pulling on pipe cleaners." There is much talking and movement, likely more than he's ever experienced in a classroom before--but then there are more students, more teachers, more color and more pipe cleaners.

When the noise level reaches the point that even Daniel, his voice loudest, couldn't be heard and the mechanics of lunch count is halted,

a shrill whistle is blown. Is it a cry for despotism or for freedom? When the whistle is ineffective, Meg claps her hands. Private, audible conversations complete with physical demonstrations, if performed quickly, seem acceptable; at the same time, one is to think and use his imagination to build a tangible construct from some of the many materials at hand.

"We're having a ball, but when do we have recess?" "Oh, I already know my name, so I don't need a nametag, do I?"

"Line up and get ready to go to lunchroom. What are some of the rules to remember? I wasn't here. Who was here? Hold up your hands. Don't take or ask for others food. We wouldn't take others food, would we? Stick with your own lunches. Do we go through a cafeteria line? Yes. Do we keep the money in our hand or pocket? Yes."

After lunch there is singing.

The noise level rises; Claire stands; says nothing; Daniel sits. Some children say "sh, sh, sh." Daniel continues to sit and Claire stands. The students are relatively quiet now. Meg returns. More noise. The three teachers stand still. A boy falls from his chair. They wait until quieter; they go around to tables and speak to them; Daniel says, "You can't seem to realize we're waiting for you to get quiet."

There were times for group reflection too--

"Did anyone notice why it took so long to get started?" She waits for them to get quiet.

"We got a drink."

"We were talking."

"It was noisy."

"We were looking at crawdads."

"We're going to keep meeting in this group. We can air our gripes. You have indicated that you don't like to stand in line. Can you suggest things or can we agree on something that we'll all do, that we'll all look at Crayfish or all read books." Writes Crawdad--Crayfish on the board.

"We'll talk about problems in here; what will be the best way to start something? Would it be best to come in and start running around?" Asks two students if they have a contribution to the group. Someone wanted to put chairs in order. Assigns two to come and arrange chairs in this room during restroom break.

"One thing we have to talk about is what happened at lunch. Are there some things good that we should keep doing?"

The group became the thing, however, sometimes the individual was brought out in a most individualized fashion. . .

"Do you think you've been helping our group very much?" "No." "What have you been doing?" "Don't know." "Whose problem do you think it is?" "Mine." "Who can solve it?" "Me." "We're all going to watch and see if you do. We may remind you."

Sometimes even his teachers want the group on their side and go to lengths to get it.

Daniel--amid loud noise:

"I'm still waiting. Guess people don't want to get a drink. I want to get a long drink. Everyone who has something out is keeping me from getting a drink of water--that's not fair."

Time changes things, but the nine year old finds his teachers are willing to "try, try, again" and not in a trite fashion either; the whistle

is replaced by a microphone. "I won't use the whistle today even if I'm not heard."

It is confusing for new students as well. New student--"What grade am I in?"

"There is no third grade. This is the Transition Division."

At times his teachers seem to have misunderstood his rights of decision making as outlined in the school philosophy--"People ask what are we going to do. I can't tell each one. How can I tell you all at the same time? Some day you can decide what to do, but today I'll tell you."

There are group decisions too. "Don't you think we need some exercise?" They want to go outside. Wants small groups to decide what they want to do. The noise level is very high. "I'm waiting for you to decide; do it quietly; make sure everyone's choice is involved. Write your decision on paper and don't tell it."

Student -- "Are we going outside?"

Daniel -- "I'm waiting for the groups to decide." (The noise is high.)

"I guess we'll have to wait. . .I'm waiting."

Student -- "We're waiting too."

Daniel -- "I know; you're waiting for yourselves."

There is also time for fun other than at recess. A few write; most talk or sit and do little. A boy next to me is sliding in his shoe--just collided with my foot. Claire has a small group about her and the projector. Two boys say let's go over and see what's going on. Both scoot their chairs to where she is trying to teach.

They are back and so is the new boy; he has caught on quickly--spins his feet as though they were tires. Two boys collide in chairs. Some play with rulers.

(9/10)

Transition to an observer

Observers are less poetic when they dictate their field notes. The results tend to be perceptions emphathizing with the teacher's view.

I dropped by Transition Division yesterday at 3:00 p.m. when there was still about an hour and a half of school left in the day. Dan and Meg were talking and discussing what they might do with the remaining hour and a half. Meg said, "What can you do?" I jokingly said that I could perform some type of yoga lessons and Dan commented that he absolutely was fatigued and had run dry. He had no ideas as to what they would do. Evidently, at this point, the Transition Division planned one or two specific activities and then simply plays it by ear from then on. (10/10)

The field notes contain other more extended observations and interpretations. As they indicate in the early part of the year, Transition Division experienced procedural confusion on the part of the staff.

Meg feels that there isn't enough transfer between the work that goes on in the smaller groups and that which takes place in the group of 90. Yesterday, for an hour and a half, 60 of the students remained in one room while the others went out for reading courses. Meg and Claire feel that this was busy work and a waste of time; however, Dan feels that it wasn't wasted, that it was an experience for the students in getting the feel, the understanding, of the situation. One wonders if this may be a difference in goals as well as a difference in means of reaching the goals.

The Transition teachers said at the end of the first day that nothing went right. The buses didn't come until almost 5:00, which made it a very long work day because some of the students started arriving before 9:00 that morning. At the end of the day the Transition group saw Eugene coming; however, he said, "Don't ask how things went. Things can go no way except getting better; the situation certainly is not hopeless." Claire asked me to the meeting which the Transition team was having after the first day of school; however, because the buses were so late, the meeting was postponed until September 9. Both Meg and Claire agreed that possibly the next day they would have to use a more traditional method. Today, Sept. 9, Meg remarked, "Today we rule

the students, whereas yesterday they ruled." Meg and Claire feel that the constructive activity of that morning was what geared the students to the height of activity which they tried to maintain throughout the day. Eugene mentioned that perhaps the buses could begin running at 2:15, but he said to be sure and not mention it to anyone else. The appearance of the room was quite different at 5:00 than what it was at 9:00 that morning. Pipe cleaners, construction paper, pieces of tape and foam were strewn over most of the room.

Today, Sept. 9, Claire mentioned that they may go toward the more traditional, at least for a while. It seems that both she and Meg will move toward the more traditional. It's difficult to locate quite where Dan is standing or really just what he wants to do. He seems to disagree with some of the things that they have been saying, especially concerning the busy work and the more traditional methods; however, he is unable to offer any better suggestion or action other than blowing the whistle today. The microphone was used which facilitated communication to an extent; however, I see it primarily as a placebo both to the teacher who is using it and also for the students. There is possibly something a little bit fascinating and intriguing both to the faculty member and to the student.

Also, of some significance today on Sept. 9, the Transition Division did move some of their desks and their utility cabinets, the lowboys. Previously they have been organized in such a way as to divide the room into almost two parts. However, today they were placed even with the wall so as to take away any distinction that had existed yesterday. The desks were also pushed more toward the center and some of the desks were removed. This also was to give the faculty a better grasp on the students.

Today Claire said that there wasn't enough structure yesterday, and that the students were not forced to do anything so that today, going along with the more traditional idea, she seems to believe that possibly if they were a little bit more direct they might be more effective in their efforts to get the attention of the students, thereby enabling them to teach them more, or, at least, begin teaching.

It was decided that the school would dismiss at 2:15, at least until Thanksgiving or until some time thereafter. This was met with great cries of welcome and joy on the part of the students and teachers.

I think that today, Sept. 10, was the big turning point for the Transition group. Especially after I sat in on their meeting of today, beginning about 2:20 or 2:15. Claire feels that the students are never busy and in a smaller group a teacher feels less upset when she gives assignments. According to Meg, you can also begin planning better in the smaller group and later on develop to the point where one is able to work best in a larger group. Meg describes the noise as "chaos," and she feels that most of it is their fault, or the fault of the teachers, because they are not quite sure what they are trying to do and they haven't been able to facilitate the activities that they have initiated. Claire remarks that she feels stupid when she stands before a group and talks and yet knows that no one hears because they are talking so loud themselves. Meg was the most analytical about the activities that they have previously tried to do. She says that the activities have not been fitted to the children, and part of this is because they haven't really got to know the children because there haven't been enough small and consistent groups. She remarked that the children don't know how to use time and they are tired of not doing anything. They also feel that there isn't enough carry over and new activity. After about 20 minutes, Meg and Claire desired to break into smaller groups; however, Dan held out for the larger group for a while. He thinks that there are certain tasks that can combat what has been causing the trouble in the larger groups. Then when he is faced with, What kind of tasks? by the other two, he suggests some kind of ditto materials possibly taken from second grade workbooks because they are not quite sure yet where the children are reading or at what level they are doing their other work. Claire pointed out the fact that thus far there aren't any library books. However, Dan went to find out that they will be able to use the library on Monday. Actually the three teachers didn't know what plan to adopt. One which Meg mentioned was keeping the group of 60--this is the large group that meets for an hour and a half--for the first three weeks until they really know the students. And in this time she feels that they may use about half of it in really directive activities and the other half for some kind of study plan or study lessons on the part of the students themselves. Meg feels that when she takes 15 students in to read for about 30 minutes, and they get the chairs taken in, she really hasn't got them to do enough reading to know or to diagnose exactly how well most of the students can read at the time. Therefore, it is impossible for them to go on to big groups and work with any kind of compe-

tency at all. She thinks that the teachers must know where they are in reading before they try to prepare any seat work activities that are of any value to the students or that are anything other than busy work. She again said they need to know where the students are at this particular time.

They discussed the reading activity that was held in the afternoon, and they finally concluded that things were so noisy that it really wasn't a fair test of where the students are. They don't have access to anything but a few readers, most of those which are on the third grade level. Claire points out a difficulty in the structure which I observed yesterday, the fact that the student's shifting back and forth between teachers is very difficult. One teacher makes an assignment, another makes an assignment, and then one comes in and takes over the entire group. Possibly there are students who have no assignments, and it is difficult to sift out the students who do have work to do and those who simply say they do to keep from listening to the lecture or the lesson which is then being carried on.

The limitations of the physical area of the room which the 60 are occupying, and at many times the 90, were carefully noted by Claire. She also mentioned the pushing and the shoving of the desks and that the metal type desks would cause a great commotion. She remarked that she would like desks and chairs that are chained together or hooked together. Dan made the comment that when they get the carpets they won't have any of these problems at all. One plan they talk about is to have tables on the east side of the room and desks on the west side and to occupy the other two rooms more than they have now by dividing up into three groups. Meg points out that one reason why they are not functioning any better than they are at the present time is because they have kids, as she says, wall to wall and that there are no interest centers as such; everyone is just thrown together.

They feel that now they have natural social groups. Dan wants to have everything in the large group. Claire points out that in her reading rooms, were they to shift to the other two rooms for at least two groups of persons, she says she doesn't want the tinny banging of the desks. She would like to get away from it. She proposes that maybe two groups of six of the more mature students can work alone in another room and work on independent study skills. Another big thing is that a

boy from the independent study has been moved in, he, they found by looking on his record, has been playing a lot of hooky; he also has been held back a year. None of them really wanted to take him into their groups now that they have finally decided upon 30 in each room. This came after a long time conversation and really regretting the fact that this is really going against the Kensington philosophy which none of them are quite sure will work. (9/10)

Their primary concerns for the Transition Division centered about size and structure of pupil groups and assessment of student skills. However, shortage of materials, no library books, and no textbooks were also reflected in the instructional program that developed. But overshadowing the early days of the Transition program were the comments made by the faculty measuring their present classroom practices with what they had interpreted as the doctrine of an individualized educational program.

BASIC SKILLS DIVISION

Early in the second week of the summer workshop Basic Skills had split into a team of two and a team of four. The reasons lay generally in staff disagreement and conflict concerning the significance of teaching experience, the importance and legitimacy of basal readers in an individualized program, and several "personal" issues. As we have indicated, the work of the two teams was carried out independently.

Basic Skills: Team 4

The field notes at noon on the first day indicated the Team of 4 had an array of major and minor problems.

I just spoke to one of the teachers briefly about her

conception of the next few days or weeks. She said that she hopes they will be split into reading groups very shortly because she is all set and ready to go. She felt that the others in the sub group of 4 were not yet ready to divide but she feels no other way to proceed. She stated that she had suggested several times that they divide into reading groups either vertically or horizontally and that they begin the work of teaching an individualized reading program. She felt that the group had not picked up her cues and said that she could only wait and hope that they would do so soon. It appears that the group will be forced into such a division quite shortly. They were very much confused today and had a difficult time in holding the children's interest for a long period of time. They all will face the realization soon that you just can't sit and play games with them forever. They will of necessity have to begin a reading program and this will force them to the realization that to have a reading program, even individualized, one must have some basic idea of grouping or grouping procedure. Compounding their problems are the physical surroundings which are at best inconvenient. The lunch procedure promises to be one of the major headaches. The time was switched about 6 times as Jean put it, and that right now she did not know when it would be. When I left at 1:10 the first child had not yet entered. They had planned to get in as early as 12:30 or 12:40. (9/8)

Midweek

Notes from the middle of the week indicate that the Basic Skills Division was rapidly becoming aware of the nuances of team teaching.

The sub group 4 seemingly gained more insight to facilitate the teaching of reading. They were to end their period at 10:45. At 10:45 the entire sub group 4 division had planned to go outside for P.E. activities. Sue came to Wanda, Jean, and Elaine and told them that their activities with the second grade were so helpful and beneficial that they did not wish to break at this time. They wanted to hang on to their group a while longer. Neither of the three teachers wished to oppose this, so they said, "All right, go ahead." This left the problem of what to do with the schedule that had been previously agreed upon by the team in last night's meeting. Wanda said, "I'll take all 70 of the first grader's outside for P.E." This left Elaine and Jean free to take a break. I spoke to them for 10 or 15 minutes about the problems attendant to this kind of spur-of-the-moment decision making. In this discussion both Jean and Elaine saw very clearly the problems that

this brings about. Jean mentioned that this lack of structure bound her a great deal. I asked for further clarity. She said, and something in this same fashion, "In my own self-contained classroom, I had all the freedom in the world. I could extend a learning experience or shorten it or cut it out completely if I wished. Here, I'm forced into a rigid schedule." She said that it seems very odd and yet the freedom that they wanted was the thing which inhibited them and made them more rigid. Elaine agreed that given 20 children and a self-contained classroom it would be far superior for the very objectives that they wish to achieve. They both felt that decisions as the one Sue and Chris had made were sometimes beneficial to the group making the decision but it certainly disrupted matters for the rest of the children. Elaine gave the example that perhaps a group of 15 children were involved in a very meaningful learning experience and therefore the teacher of these 15 would simply arbitrarily state that the period would be extended for an extra 30 minutes. While this may be fine for the group of 15, the group of 55 would have to find some makeshift busy work to kill time.

I just spoke briefly with Chris, the reading specialist, and she compared her role with the sub group of 4 and with the sub group of 2. After some probing on my part she indicated that she felt more like a person that would be wound up and turned loose like a little machine in Carla's and Mary's group whereas she felt like a real bonafide member of the team in sub group 4. She said that she felt the two groups perceived her in an altogether different fashion. Mary and Carla would like to use her for little spot relief assignments. Since they both have taught intermediate grades of 4 and grade 3 and have little experience with grade 1, they would like very much to give her a 30 to 40 minute time slot in which to "teach reading." Other than that, they do not want to see her meddling into their planning. In contrast to this, the sub group of 4 very much would like to have Chris as a member of their team. They value her not only as a reading person but also for her ability in general overall planning. Chris also mentioned that she was spending a great deal of time with Sue since Sue was just beginning. She was very high in her opinion of Sue as a beginning teacher. She felt that Sue has much sensitivity to the needs and problems of children and shows a great learning potential as a teacher. However, she felt that Sue lacked certain little mechanics which are picked up by experience. One example she gave was that an

experienced teacher does not simply say "We are now going to go into the blue room." And then the stampede starts. An experienced teacher would very carefully explain how she wanted them to move, etc. Another weakness she saw that Sue had due to lack of experience centered about her lack of a repertoire of stories, songs, and other such gadgets that an experienced teacher picks up with time. She felt, however, that she would very quickly overcome these deficiencies. (9/8)

Last night, the Basic Skills group met after the day's sessions. All seemed very tired and very confused. The bus schedule was rather in a state of turmoil. The buses all arrived on time; however, the bus passes were not issued. There was a last minute frantic hurrying about as they attempted to match bus passes with children. Some children did not know their home address, they did not know which bus they rode in the morning, and consequently they were in tears. All teachers attempted to match children to buses and get them safely home. They were ready for the children to leave at about 3:50 but had to wait until at least 4:30 or 4:40 before they actually cleared the building. After the children were gone the group met in sub groups of 2 and 4. Chris met with the sub group of 4. After some informal discussion of how confused the day's activities were, Chris suggested that they were all rather "wilted" and that perhaps they had better meet in the morning. Wanda would have none of this. She said, "Absolutely not. I will not go home until I know what I'm going to do tomorrow. I will not go through another day like today." The main discussion centered on grouping or not grouping the children and what type of group to use. Wanda held out very firmly for the need for reading groups on ability levels. She suggested that they separate first graders from second graders and then group within each grade. Jean and Sue were not quite ready to break down into first and second grades. They seemed to want to hold on to a more novel approach to education but don't quite know how. Chris felt they could continue the present division for a few days at least until they had given the children a chance to settle down. Wanda was pushing very hard for a division in ability groupings for the very next day. Elaine seemed sure that today had not worked well but did not quite know how best to proceed. Some discussion centered as to whether the children should have assigned desks, Sue and Jean holding out for a freer home base. Wanda was not overly impressed with tradition at this point, she just wanted to get some

teaching done. The group finally decided to spend one hour in this morning session divided into first and second grades for a language arts period.

Chris and Sue will take the second grade group and have a large reading group. They will simply be doing free reading with some discussion of the material. Elaine, Jean, and Wanda will take the first graders in random selection and attempt to evaluate their readiness or reading level. I feel pretty sure that Wanda will continue to push for ability groupings even within the grade level; however, this will take a little more time to evaluate the children and divide them in this manner. They are still holding on to their random groupings across grades.

(9/9)

Somewhat later notes indicate that there were some continuing problems with grouping. At the same time, great effort was made to avoid the fate of a self-contained classroom.

Some summary thoughts concerning last night's Basic Skills team meeting.

Jean appeared to give the most leadership in last night's meeting. She threw out many of the big questions which needed to be discussed. It seemed that once issues were brought out, they were not followed to conclusion. This seems to stem, again in part, from everyone's inability to follow a point to conclusion for fear of not getting group consensus or some other such group process problem. Chris also offered several innovative suggestions but these were mostly practical bits of teaching wisdom. Chris had very little to say by way of organization of the team. The Basic Skills sub group 4 seemed to stack up somewhat in this fashion. Wanda, Elaine, and Jean, all three, seemed very dissatisfied with their own classroom work thus far. Elaine and Wanda seem to make statements in unison on several occasions that reflected their views of their own deficiencies thus far. Wanda is quite convinced it is due to the unworkability of the 4 man team. She has tried to insert this on several occasions but received little support. Elaine also feels it is not working but does not seem quite as sure as Wanda that it cannot work. Several statements were made to the effect that they had subscribed to this type of philosophy for several years and in fact were much more successful in the traditional self-contained classroom than they have been in attempting to implement this at Kensington. Sue seems to steer clear of any removal of the sub group of 4. She does not want to get tied to a

two man team. She seemed to dread even more the thought of a self-contained classroom. Jean's position is a striving for some workable plan for their group that would not mean self-contained classrooms and also would not mean departmentalization. She wants a little flexibility in that she could utilize the strength of another teacher; however, she deplores the rigidity of attempting to conform to a fixed time schedule. Jean seems to have the right questions but seemingly no one has the right answers. Chris is quite content with the way things are going and, in fact, said that they had made a lot of progress and that she would like to work out a few of the bugs in the program but, in general, she thought things had gone quite well.

Wanda appeared quite concerned with the general behavior of the children. She stated last night that they were wilder than any children she had ever seen. In part she wants to have more control of the children in their walking from classroom to classroom and in going to the lunchroom and in going to the bathroom, etc. Sue expressed her interest in having no part of this arrangement. She said that the children will simply learn, and very soon, that they will want to walk from one class to another. Wanda is still most concerned about the image of teacher as controller and, as such, wishes a great deal more structure. Chris mentioned that the Basic Skills sub group 2 had a much smoother operation. She noted that the teachers led the children from class to class and had the children sitting down quietly before they left them. She didn't seem to place any value judgment on this. (9/15)

A later day

As the semester wore on, the Basic Skills, Team 4, came to work well together. On their good days they seemed to capture the essence of what Kensington was intended to be. One of those days occurred on Friday the 13th of November. The field notes recorded it this way.

It's now 5:30 p.m.

There are a number of things I'd like to say about the Basic Skills Division. After spending a few minutes in Jean's room I went to have a cup of coffee with Sue. Jean and Wanda had the kids outside for recess and P.E.

type activities. We were joined by the substitute and by Chris, who also had free time due to the arrangements for supervision of the kids by the others. The substitute was there for Elaine who is ill. The substitute played the role of a very interesting prober in that she was curious about what was going on and how it went on. I was thus able to sit and listen to someone doing the same thing that I wanted to do and see it as a third party rather than as a participant. The substitute made a comment that somebody ought to spend a few days "auditing" just to find out how the arrangements went. Wanda commented to this that she should have been here early when nobody knew what was going on and that everything was very clear and very simple now. In effect, they have worked out the patterns of organization and the movement of the children. Wanda made a comment or two about the trials of teaching first grade and second grade for the first time. She's been a kindergarten teacher in the past. They each made comments and here I'm mixing up my conversation with Sue and Chris and the substitute and my later conversation with Jean and with Wanda. Jean and Wanda were commenting about how it's possible to teach and handle 50 or 100 kids now. The children apparently are able to understand a little bit better about the need for quiet and for organization, and they have accepted some of the responsibilities this way. In effect, their behavior has been shaped towards a criterion that is acceptable. The actual structure of the instruction varies with some of them teaching first grade reading and second grade arithmetic and vice versa, etc. In regard to reading they made comments that a large number of the second grade kids, and here it was 12 or so, had considerable difficulty with reading and were involved in primary materials only. In Sue's eyes the unhappy aspect was that these kids were home grown kids from the Hillside School and Milford district. There are also a sizable group of very able readers, many of whom came from outside the district.

Sue and Chris explained to the substitute some of the things that they had been doing in having the kids dictate their own stories and these were then written up by Chris and today they are supposed to be put in folders. Chris explained very quickly and easily with no pretentiousness about how they might do that by cutting construction paper in half and then folding the page for a front and a back and then stapling it. Chris apparently is full of suggestions and ideas of this sort from her past experience. Sue has no hesitancy at all about accepting this and then amplifying it, which she did when the

substitute asked about the kind of decoration and coloring on it and both Sue and Chris argued for considerable freedom and creativity on the part of the kids. I'm reminded here of Shaplin's point about the values of team teaching in bringing teachers into the profession--new teachers that is. Sue was able to take the suggestions of Chris, amplify them, and treat them as worthwhile without any hesitancy or without any inferiority feelings on her own part. From some of the comments that she made the other night at the curriculum meeting she literally worships the ground that Chris walks on. The inference I made then, and I think is in the notes, is that Chris has been the major instructor and the gal who really saved Sue from the possible debris pile.

Later when I watched Sue teach I saw her perform artistically and creatively as an actress. She taught a lesson in numbers using two imaginary characters from Mars, Numa and Numo, who came down to the planet and were behaving in very interesting and bizarre ways. This has sources and a genesis many, many weeks ago in that first imaginary bus that was used as a format for the kids when they first came in. She interwove these imaginary characters into the learning of set theory--if you have a set of two rocks and one turtle and Numo with his broom pushed all of them into the same square, you would then have a set of three. Throughout the lesson it was "Numo thinks this," or "What would Numo think of that" or "Numo did this" or "Can you imagine Numo doing something else," etc. I was strongly reminded of a Salinger short story "The Banana Fish" in which the camp counselor invents and has a continuing theme of the stories that he tells to the children. These kids were captivated in the same fashion. Another part of her lesson was literally teaching in pantomime with no verbal comments at all. It's difficult to describe the quality of this, for she had the kids put a number line on the blackboard and then had various equations of one plus something equals five and the kids then had to mark the number of loops and hurdles they would have to jump on the number line to get there and then substitute the number in. She would nod to a kid, shake her head at another one who did it wrong; she would frown, she would pucker up, she would smile and the kids were almost entirely right with her. It was the damnest performance I've seen in ages. If this kind of ability is more general, and Pat seems to think so and Paul saw some of the same things, she has the makings of a first rate

primary teacher.⁵

In the conversation between Wanda and Jean, there was also a feeling of hand in glove working together. By this I mean, essentially, they hold common goals and they contribute to the reaching of the goals in an easy, warm, rational style. For instance, Wanda raised some question about what the central concept in math would be for this next week. She's been working on clocks in telling time and she says it's about run out of all of the different variations she can work out. Jean kind of said she didn't know for sure and would have to think about it a bit. Later Wanda was able to weave into the conversation a request to borrow the manual for the modern math book that they've been using. Jean commented freely and easily that it was on her desk and she'd be more than welcome to have it for the weekend.

I listed a number of facets of the immediate differences between Basic Skills and I.S.D. and one of the major ones, it seems to me, is that the I.S.D. people are not there to teach and that the Basic Skills people are. There is no question in the minds of the group that they are supposed to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. They are all excited about the various ways in which this can be done and the successes they are having with some children and the kind of problems that they are having with others. In regard to the latter, they talked briefly about one or two pupils who were having considerable difficulty and with whom they are having parent conferences. Chris asked Sue about what the kids were doing and Sue was able to say, pretty specifically, the level the kids were working in, which one was having more difficulties than the other one, and special kinds of problems that each had. The information was passed quickly and easily again in this very free and well coordinated sequence of interaction. (11/13)

Basic Skills: Team 2

On September 7th, the day before the pupils arrived, the research staff

5. For the sake of realism, Sue had her "down" days, too. Also she had the reputation among some of the staff of occasionally putting on a show.

summarized and interpreted their views of Basic Skills: team 2.

Sub team two seems to be working quite smoothly on the surface. Carla is a strong teacher, having taught 27 years in the elementary and especially in the primary field. She has never had a year off from teaching since she began as a two year graduate 27 years ago. This lengthy experience has given her the feeling, and perhaps rightfully so, that she has experienced about every aspect of teacher-pupil behavior that is possible. She is quite firm and set in her ways and makes most of the decisions for this sub group.

The other half of this team is Mary. She at times seems quite firm and able to make up her own mind and yet, at other times, seems quite willing to go along with Carla. Both have little patience for the so called "discussion or process" method. Both feel that the larger team meetings are a waste of time and both feel that much more can be done by working in small groups. I feel that this sub group of 2 will have little contact with the other sub team of 4 in the Basic Skills division. It will be interesting if the group which supposedly is departing the farthest from the Institutional Plan will perhaps work the smoothest and most efficiently. It will depend a great deal on how busy Eugene is with the other phases of the school program, especially Independent Studies Division, whether or not he will get time to supervise the Basic Skills. I'm sure he would not be pleased with the fact that they will be conducting what very well could be a double self-contained classroom atmosphere. I also feel that this sub group of 2 will have a very definite plan in mind by the time the entire school gets into the new Kensington building. It will be very difficult at this time to revamp and reorganize the Basic Skills into any other division than it now has, namely, a sub group of 4 and a sub group of 2.

This group will house all the pupils in their section in one of the classrooms having 60 desks in one room. They will then use the second room which is assigned to them for small group activity such as reading groups, creative art, music, etc. It would appear that these two teachers will work rather effectively together introducing a good "traditional" atmosphere for the children. (9/7)

In effect the predictions were borne out. Number work began in the first days and beginning work in set theory of the new math was not far be-

hind. The basal reading materials, On your way, were distributed and in use very quickly also. The program was academic but traditional.

Later conversations solidified the coherence of predictions, teaching style, and points of view.

Yesterday after sessions on Thursday I spent some time talking to Carla and Mary. Both of them feel that the rest of the Basic Skills plus Transition and Independent Study seem to be going in a direction which they do not approve. It seems that neither of these two teachers would strongly support the Kensington philosophy if confronted by one of the patrons. Mary had compared the vagueness of Kensington with the solidity of her own child in the Jefferson School. She stated that he had come home with a sheet which very clearly outlined the goals and the expectations that they hope to achieve. By contrast she felt Kensington had not done this in any way. I attempted to remain neutral by stating that I did not know which of the two I would prefer. Evidently they read my statement to be a criticism of Kensington's vagueness and both laughed out loud at this comment. Carla considers herself a middle-of-the-roader and stated that she has been the same type of person in her self-contained classroom for the last 10 years or so.

I feel that for both Carla and Mary having taught fourth grade last year poses certain real problems for their adjustment to the first grade. Mary stated that she was very tired and tense working with the little folks. She stated that she didn't realize so much lead up was necessary. She stated "they cannot even write their own name and I even had to teach them how to use a jumprope outside." She commented that she wishes she would have stayed in the Transition division as she had previously wanted to do.

(9/11)

Thus, subteam 2 developed independently of the rest of the Basic Skills Division and, in effect, apart from the total school both in terms of actual classroom behavior and ideology. Communication between the subteams was quite limited, and Eugene focused little attention on the subteam. Later the split into the two subteams came to be rationalized as a facet of the demonstration with team 2 described as an expanded self-contained class-

room. For whatever reasons, it was a characteristic of Kensington and its doctrine that such wide variation in structure and method were permitted.

SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

While the field notes contain a wealth of further detail on the day to day events of Kensington, it seems at this point more feasible to try to say a few general things which will find their way in the threads of the more detailed analysis.

Early Facilities and Materials Limitations

From the beginning, as is noted in an earlier description of the three temporary physical plants, study and instruction were somewhat altered and structured by the makeshift facilities. However, it is necessary to attempt to determine how much of the change, and in instances difficulty, had roots in the limiting physical conditions or were in fact a part of, or were "built in" to the structure of the formal organization.

A significant amount of materials and equipment had not arrived by the opening of school. This deficit was especially critical at Kensington where textbooks and "traditional" teacher helps were taboo, which in turn placed an even greater emphasis on para-instructional supplies, increased pressure on the materials specialist, and heightened faculty tension in the face of a shortage of materials which were to serve as means to implement the ideas for learning tools they were to create.

Attempts at coordination of bus times with the existing district schools resulted in uncertainties, long waits, and growing parental dis-

approval. This emphasized internal problems in the I.S.D. partly because of their location in the gym; the variability of the times and the schedule; and no formally agreed-upon procedure whereby students were to be dismissed. With 200 children in one room this lack of uniformity created grave problems and heightened faculty tensions. Coupled with this was that once decisions were made, members failed to adhere to them and in other instances all were not informed as to the action to take. As becomes clearer elsewhere in the paper even when there was ample access to and knowledge about facilities and materials, deficiencies in the structure precluded satisfactory utilization of them.

Another factor that required adjustment on the part of both faculty and students was the noise level. It was high in all of the divisions, and the staff was unable to speak loudly enough to be heard by all of the children. In the Basic Skills Division, teachers had to read rather than students who were unable to be heard. In the Transition Division three whistles were in evidence and in the I.S.D. Liz, among others, was losing her voice and she "couldn't hear herself." Tom noted that, "The noise level was a good bit higher than he had anticipated." This was even though he expected it to be a pretty difficult problem.

In part, coupled with the difficulties in quelling the noise there was the sheer number of children that each staff member under the initial organizational plan was required to contact and come to know. Learning the names of two hundred children and something about each, as would be expected from the "usual" elementary teacher, seemed an insurmountable task at Kensington.

An early and continuing problem was that the majority of children were

unable to devise and carry out individual plans of work. Their being capable of doing this was crucial to the success of "individualized" study, an integral part of the Kensington program. This deficit, combined with a lack of materials and limited teacher time and preparation, took an early toll and in turn was an incentive for poor use of pupil time which both parents and some faculty came to view as a "waste." In addition, the children lacked adequate skills to work together in groups which was another necessary capability to function well at Kensington. The wandering and milling about in the gym continued and were accompanied by clay throwing, paper air planes, further misuse of materials (most usually confined to individual tables), and a general restlessness.

Time demands of the program were also increasingly great. Since this is discussed elsewhere, brief mention is sufficient. Team, sub-team, and planning meetings began to take several hours a week before or after school and in the evenings. The Transition Division was unable to find the time to plan enough activities for a large group and resolved the problem by dividing the students into three groups.

Another area that only contributed to creating disillusionment was the repeated, and continuing dilemma of reorganization. The sources of the reorganizations lay generally in some of the problems mentioned previously and in parental reaction. Conditions which preceded the various organizational modifications and their apparent "failure," in part, made for dissatisfaction and a lowering of morale. The frequent reorganizations emphasized movement from specialists to generalists among the staff. This was in conflict with the original positions they were given when hired.

It is noted earlier that many were selected for their specialities, skills, and training for secondary education. Yet a few weeks after school began, faculty members with at best two areas of competency were teaching a variety of subjects as would have been the case in a self-contained classroom. Other than its being an unfortunate use of manpower, this condition deviated from the original plan for the school and added to the growing faculty disappointment and consequent morale problems.

Early Disillusionment and Low Morale

By October much of the August and September enthusiasm was partially translated into disillusionment, either of a personal or a team nature. A number of internal and external facets of the organization were instrumental in altering the initial hope.

Several in the I.S.D. were very discouraged; two members of the Basic Skills team were thinking of quitting at mid term. In addition to this, the notes indicate that "almost everybody is giving serious thought to not coming back next year." (10/23) As the introductory epilogue notes, this is in fact what did happen.

There were many reasons for the early despair. Some of the faculty were more vocal and the basis of their grievances more easily observable. Kay is recorded as "very tired and discouraged. She's sick of the dust, dirt, the confusion, and the lack of order. She's also tired of the noise." (10/23) One teacher was asked whether or not she had talked with the principal. She replied "No, not directly; it's his baby, and you can't tell a person that his baby is no good." She was also displeased with the departmentalized organization that the I.S.D. had developed and "would just

as soon have her own self-contained classroom."

David was also experiencing progressive disillusionment and disenchantment. He noted three primary areas of dissatisfaction: 1) the shift from process; 2) the loss of the student T-groups, and 3) the inability of the team to function and also be concerned about process. His vehemence against formal instruction and his refusal to "teach" in the usual sense of the word was known by the faculty; however, our discussion clearly shows the strength of his feelings was put to the test by the third reorganization.

Eugene was also troubled. His discontent centered primarily around four areas, none of which are mutually exclusive. 1) The "sterile program" being offered in some of the classes. 2) His personal anxiety. 3) The deficiencies of the faculty. 4) His relationship with one consultant. He saw the problems as crossing division lines but stopping short of encompassing any one entire division. At this time he described his feelings as those of "general apprehension and anxiousness." (10/14) A week later he again noted that he wasn't "functioning very well" and "was not getting as much done as he had hoped to do." One specific item expresses some of his general feelings. In commenting about the interpretation and feedback of materials from the recordings on the consultant's research projects, Eugene indicated that they would probably have to be done by him. While he was trained and competent to do this, when he was feeling tense and nervous this got communicated also, and the situation did not go so well.

His feelings about the inadequacies of the staff were also still much in evidence. He specifically mentioned one teacher and her inability as

an instructor or leader. Later he was considering her release. What seems to be of importance is that little attempt was made to help the faltering team members. In fact in the instance of Liz, the soon-effected third re-organization placed her at an even greater disadvantage.

Eugene's discontent with Roberts began early in their relationship and continued until the relationship was terminated during the second semester. Eugene noted that their rapport was "not good" and the conversations "flitted around from topic to topic, rather than seriously moving in and attacking basic issues." He reported that he confronted Roberts with questions of bad rapport, and that they "could never get anywhere because of that," and that he wanted to "talk about his feelings" in regard to this. He perceived Roberts as listening only briefly, and then shifting the conversation to something else.

These four examples illustrate Eugene's early discouragement. He was cognizant of each and able to verbalize one by one the concerns. However, following the thread of these areas through the remaining months of school, to the demise of some and the irresolution of others, indicates that for all of his recognition, he was able to do little in the way of active, positive solution.

Chapter Four

The New Building

THE MOVE TO THE NEW BUILDING

Introduction

On Wednesday, November 25th, the staff bulletin contained this item:

Moving date. Rapid progress is being made on the building, but there are still many things to be done before it will be ready for pupils. Although we may start moving some things in next week, it does not appear that the building will be ready for pupils until the following week. No definite date has been set, but we shall see.

The next bulletin, #24, the following Tuesday, carried the specifications:

Moving Arrangements. As of this moment (1:52 p.m.) plans have been made to move the office and the I.S.D. into the new building on Thursday and Friday of this week. Cabinetry and equipment will be moved Thursday and Friday morning, and pupil desks and chairs will be moved Friday afternoon. I.S.D. pupils will be dismissed at 1:00 p.m. Friday. They should be instructed to take all personal belongings and books, etc. home with them.

The same arrangements will be followed for the B.S.D. and T.D. the following week, December 10 and 11.

The bare announcements of the move convey little of the flesh and blood of the move itself. The children were engaged in busy work, the literal aches and pains of the staff were evident. The interplay of long term and short term commitments were visible also. The notes indicate the tenor of these events.

As I looked around the room the kids seemed to be engaged in a whole variety of busywork type activities and holding actions. Some of them were working with SRA materials,

some were watching E-TV or films and some of them were listlessly sitting. Others were playing magic square type games. Liz had on the overhead projector a picture of the Kensington School and was, in effect, telling them about where they would be going and what they would do. John was still looking kind of depressed about the move. He's not going to teach his Transition class this afternoon so that he can come over and get his materials and equipment arranged. He also commented that Tom has sprained his back and has some difficulties.¹

Kay told me also that there was some discussion about whether the Saturday team meeting would be at the new building or whether it would be in the central offices as originally designated. She's eager to get over and begin work on the setup for Monday. John also talked in that same vein. Kay didn't have any idea what was going to be on the agenda of the staff meeting and it was her hope that it wasn't going to take all morning.

In Transition, Claire raised several times questions as to why the kids weren't excused from school and time given to the move. Mrs. Beacon commented that the most desirable time would be on Monday. She just doesn't see how they are going to be ready for the kids then.

It's now 3:00 and I'm leaving the new building for the day. David just came over a few minutes ago, and Liz and Kay came a few minutes more recently. I caught part of a brief discussion among Liz, Kay, Tom, and Irma. The topic centered on the problem of the instructional areas and, initially, whether there would be chairs and tables there. Tom said "eventually" but he didn't know whether they'd be ready by Monday. Liz, with a very strained and nervous laugh, commented that she was interested in eventually but was concerned about Monday. This led into a discussion of the utilization of the areas. Irma suggested that she and Alec and Jack had talked about the possibility of having one area belong to one team and the other area belong to the other team and share the third space--be on a sign up basis. There are some potential problems in this because the transition division apparently is to have access to those extra spaces also. One obvious solution would be for each of the teams to have one additional space. This will have

1. This was a recurrence of "back problems" which had plagued him some years before and which were to be troublesome during the next few months.

some disadvantages in that the North team has two sub-teams--David vs. Kay and Liz--and Transition has in reality two sub-teams--Dan vs. Meg and Claire.

Eugene had a telephone conversation with the principal of an adjacent school. He was discussing the custodian which they shared and whether it would be possible to have him come over to Kensington tomorrow morning to help arrange furniture.

The teachers are scrubbing out cabinets. Irma has a bucket and is working on them. David has been working with a screwdriver and a pair of pliers trying to get the shelving back in shape in the cabinets. During the loading and unloading of materials and furniture everything had been piled over in the center of the I.S.D. area in the new building and the teachers were not free to have one person on the sending end and one on the receiving end to allocate what goes where and to whom things belong. Consequently the men, when they brought it, could not put it where it belonged, rather, they just let it plop into one big pile. Similarly, people are doing such things as cleaning cabinets and repairing shelves when the basic job seemingly ought to be get the furniture moved into some kind of rough, approximate area and the details cleaned up later or another day. They won't be at all ready for the children's furniture when it arrives in the next 30 minutes or so. John is having difficulty finding space. When I saw him later, he had kind of a slap-happy mood about him and was looking over the basement room which was full of paint buckets, a saw and some other equipment and was a long cry from being cleaned up. It would be my guess that two men couldn't clean the thing out in the next two hours this afternoon.

Another item concerns David's asking the kids to volunteer, if they wished, to help tomorrow afternoon. He said about 12 were going to be coming in. He was concerned about what their parents would think of their coming in to help fix up the school. My reaction to him was that the parents would not mind at all if the kids wanted to. The point I didn't raise and the one that seems most significant will be the attitudes of the other teachers. My guess is that some will be unhappy just having the kids around and that others will be envious in that they didn't get any kids to come in and help them.

Apropos of the whole organizational structure, and the affect toward it, it's appropriate to note that neither of the student teachers, I guess, nor the permanent substitute showed up to help. On the one hand you would

think that they would want to and on the other hand one would think that they ought to. Perhaps the basic truth of it is the reflection on the satisfactions and the cohesion of the team, or the lack thereof.

(12/4)

Staff reservations

While the staff reactions to the move had a general cast of frustration and apprehension, there were individual nuances. For instance, one teacher commented to the observer:

She expressed a personal and private opinion which she had not talked about to the rest of the staff concerning what she calls respect for property. This arose when I made a comment about how pretty the building was and she returned that she felt unhappy about letting the kids in the building for fear of what they will do to it. She sees respect for property as one of the fundamental aspects of our society and she sees these kids as not having it. Interpretively, to me, what she's saying suggests the important impact of the nature of the freedom that they have given the children and how this had led to a misuse and wasting of materials and resources and to the lack of concern about the "nice things" that they have in the school. This point should be made in conjunction with one that's in the notes earlier somewhere about how different I saw these kids as compared to the downtown kids at the beginning of the year. Especially in regard to their hostility and their destructive behavior which I saw as much less.

(12/4)

The overall reaction of the I.S.D. staff was stated this way in the notes late on Friday afternoon.

The contrast in the sentiments of the professional staff to the sentiments of the nonprofessional staff, Mrs. Beacon, Arthur, and Inez, is one of kind of grouchy gloominess versus childish excitedness. It ought to be a very happy occasion and, instead, it's a very painful one, and this seems a very real tragedy.

(12/4)

The children's reactions

The notes during the afternoon of the first day, Monday, December 7,

indicate the children's response to the new quarters.

In summary, all in all it seemed as if the move went very smoothly. The basic reaction I have about the children and their reactions to the building is one of high excitement and high positive affect toward the building. The building looks new, it feels new, it smells new. It's difficult for me to take out my own excitement and parcel it out from the reactions of the children. As I watched them, they were eager to have a tour of the building, they were eager to see the different parts, they explored around, they wanted to know all about it. The carpets were well received in that the children kicked off their shoes and walked around in their stocking feet a good bit of the time.

(12/7)

Continuities in program and teacher style occurred as well in conjunction with the new physical quarters.

Only a minimal amount of academic work occurred in the South Side group. Jack had on the board, as I left, an assignment for a theme on their first day at school. At lunch he had commented that they had done a little oral reading. The lunch hour went amazingly well from my point of view.² I had expected considerable confusion over this. The children were allowed to go to lunch a little before noon, shortly after the lines were set up, and they tended to go by class and by small numbers within classes. There seemed to be no difficulty with this at all. Mostly, they ate back in their classrooms under the supervision of their teachers although there was some flexibility in this, for Linda, one of the student teachers, ate with Irma's group while she ate in the curriculum lab. There were no long lines nor jam ups at the tables. They are eating 45 minutes to an hour before they did at the other building which will make a very, very long afternoon. David's group already is behaving as they have in the other building and they have been relatively unruffled by the change. His mode of operation looks a good bit like what Gouldner was calling the "indulgency pattern" in the "gypsum plant." As I watched them this morning, there were one or two, especially a boy named George, who spent a good bit of time watching educational television which David had running almost continuously

2. As we describe later, the lunch program was individualized also; no cafeteria or lunch room existed in the new school.

Another couple or several children were painting and doing art activities. Another one or two were working on SRA materials and a few more were wandering here and there and a few were working with cycloteachers. It's going to take a very careful and quantitative check and count to find out the number of kids who were engaging in academic type activities and were busy this way as opposed to those who are just spending time. Liz's bunch remains the noisiest and the most "out of control" of the children. (12/7)

In short, the two groups just mentioned were examples of the variation in pupil behavior which existed at Kensington. Overtly this aspect of the social structure changed little with the move to the new building.

The problem of pupil control

Most school personnel, in their franker moments, will speak of control of pupils as a necessity. In its simplest form, control means that pupils comply with the directives of teachers.³ The notes on December the 9th indicate that problems of compliance to often unstated standards of conduct were occurring and also that the individual faculty members held varying standards.

Both of the men commented, on the way out, about the noise level that existed in the perception core. At that time, by a later count I made, there were about 60 kids working down there.

The kids were rather wild and much more like the first two weeks of school over at the junior high building. Part of this is because the several teachers are out today. Irma and Liz are ill and Jack is at some kind of a meeting.

David's kids are roaming quite freely and he lets them come and go as they please. One teacher told me that on Monday his kids were wandering all over the building. (12/9)

3. For an extended analysis of this phenomenon in a slum classroom see Smith & Geoffrey (1965).

These problems, which were present all Fall, were to culminate in a major policy change, the principal's issuance of two sets of rules and regulations. The first occurred on December 8th and the second on December 14th. They are included here as Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

Insert Figures 4.1 and 4.2 about here

The detached perspective

Methodologically, we instituted, by chance as we recall, an interesting procedure. From time to time, a research assistant who had been involved intimately in the first weeks of the summer workshop returned to see old friends and to observe the developments of the school. Although we did not realize it at the time, this provided a different kind of data. While our major efforts were on the minutiae of social psychological analysis, we obtained a view of the proverbial forest instead of the trees. Illustratively, he commented during the first week of the move into the new building.

My quick conversation with Paul centered on his feeling, 1) that they had no program yet, and 2) that their spirit was broken. Both of these points seem to me to be well taken. He commented also on sitting in on a discussion of religion with some of the kids and the teacher was raising kinds of questions about who created God, etc. which Paul saw as "risky" in the public schools. Several of the teachers apologized to him for what they were doing. In arithmetic they are going back to addition, subtraction, multiplication and division in that they did not understand what had been occurring and they thought they would begin all over again. He commented that he sat in on one group while the teacher happened to be out of the room and the kids were wild and into all kinds of trouble. He commented also on the rules which apparently have staggered everybody in his eyes. As we stood outside and talked, the kids

KENSINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

December 8

General Policies and Operating Procedures**A. Food Service Program**

1. Lunch will be served to the BSD team 2 at 11:00 by the door to room 101. BSD team 4 will be served at 11:10 between the doors to rooms 105 and 106. The serving table will be placed in the Perception Center by room 108 from 11:30-1:00 for use by pupils in the TD and ISD.
2. Pupils in the ISD should use the outside walkway and corridor room 108 in going to and from the serving area, except in severe weather, in which case they may pass through the Perception Center.
3. Waste cans and tote boxes for the return of lunch trays will be placed on the outside walkway just outside doors 102, 106, 110, 114, and 117, except in severe weather, in which case they will be placed just inside these doors. Lunch waste, sacks, or milk cartons should not be placed in classroom waste baskets.
4. Pupils who desire to go home for lunch may do so with the written permission of the parent. Such permission may be granted on a continuing basis if so stated in writing by the parent. Pupils who go home for lunch should not be gone for more than 50 minutes. Pupils may not eat lunch at public eating places other than school. Pupils may eat at the home of a friend only if permission is granted in writing by the parents of both pupils involved. Pupils who leave the school for lunch must not loiter or play on the way to or from lunch, and must abide by high standards of safety.
5. Rest and relaxation periods, but not physical activity, may be scheduled for pupils after lunch.

B. Perception Center

1. The Perception Center should be used in a quiet, dignified, and purposeful manner.
2. Doors from the Perception Center into learning suites should ordinarily be kept closed.
3. Staff members should use discretion in the numbers of pupils sent to the Perception Center. No more than ten pupils should ordinarily be sent to the Perception Center without first consulting with the materials coordinator or library clerk.
4. Permission slips signed by the teacher should be used by pupils who come to the Perception Core. These forms, available from the materials coordinator, may be filled out by pupils for the teacher's signature. Forms should be retained by pupils while using the Perception Center, and turned in at the charging desk upon leaving.

C. Outside Areas.

1. Since there is no grass on the playground, pupils should not use or walk on the school grounds until authorization has been given.
2. Arrangements for the use of the covered play shelter will be developed by the physical education resource person.

3. Teachers may take pupils on walks around the covered walkway for outside physical activity.
4. As soon as the condition of the grounds is suitable, use of outside areas for instructional purposes will be encouraged.
5. Pupils must not climb over the railings onto the covered play shelter.
6. Pupils must not climb on the solar screens or smoke stack. Infractions of this rule will be considered extremely serious whether during or after school hours.

D. Arrival at School

1. Pupils should ordinarily arrive at school no more than fifteen minutes prior to the official beginning of the school day.
2. Pupils will be allowed to arrive early upon written request of the parent when there are legitimate reasons for doing so.
3. Pupils shall be expected to engage in serious and purposeful activities immediately upon arrival at school.

E. Miscellaneous

1. Pupils should ordinarily enter and leave the building by way of the outside doors of their assigned areas.
2. No more than two pupils at a time should ordinarily be in the rest-room adjacent to the Perception Center.
3. Pupils are not allowed to go to the Curriculum Center.
4. Pupils should not go to the nerve center or projection room unless permission is specifically granted because of extenuating circumstances.
5. Pupils should not ordinarily go to the office without permission from the teacher.
6. Pupils are allowed in the basement arts and crafts area only during times scheduled by the creative arts resource person or when accompanied by a teacher.
7. Pupils are not allowed in the mechanical equipment room.

F. General Pupil Behavior

1. Pupils should never talk loudly nor yell anywhere in the building.
2. Reasonable quietness should be maintained in the covered play shelter.
3. There should be no running, fighting, scuffling, or "horseplay" anywhere in the building.
4. Pupils are responsible to all adult personnel and are expected to be courteous and cooperative with them.
5. Pupils are expected to use all time profitably.

Implementation of Policies and Procedures

1. Recognizing the need for institutional procedures and normative standards for behavior in any productive society, willing compliance with the policies and regulations of Kensington School is expected from all members of the school.
2. The staff of Kensington School attempts always to operate openly,

rationally, and democratically. Should policies or regulations ever be considered inappropriate, efforts should be made through proper means to bring about changes. Compliance should be made, however, until such changes are brought about.

3. Staff members of Kensington School should strive continuously to help pupils understand and abide by institutional standards.

4. The infraction of rules should always be dealt with in positive and dignified ways. Rational conferences with pupils who break rules generally serve as an effective means for working out problems.

5. Staff members are encouraged to seek the assistance of the principal in handling serious or chronic behavior problems. In general, this should be done not by sending pupils to the office, but by reporting the problem to the principal. Detailed oral or written reports should be given in cases of serious misbehavior. In cases of chronic misbehavior, the principal should be given a written record of the misbehavior, reporting merely what infractions occurred and when. Such reports will be evaluated by the principal, and generally followed by pupil conferences, conferences with the parent, or exclusion from school. Corporal punishment may be administered in rare circumstances.

Figure 4.1. Policy statement issued by the principal.

KENSINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

December 14

Administrative Regulations

1. In general, pupils are expected not to take off their shoes at school. Possible exceptions to this are when pupils are using the tumbling mats in physical education or when sitting on the floor for certain kinds of learning activities in their assigned areas.
2. Pupils should not be kept after school for any purpose without the consent of their parents.
3. In general, teachers are discouraged from permitting pupils in the school building outside of school hours. Under no circumstances should a pupil be allowed in the building outside of school hours unless the teacher permitting it is willing to assume full and prudent responsibility for the behavior of the pupil.
4. Equipment or material should never be taken from the perception core, curriculum center or any other area without following proper check-out procedures.
5. Except during severe weather, pupils should ordinarily use the outside covered walkway for passing from one area of the building to another.
6. Whenever it is necessary for pupils to use the inside of the building in moving from one area to another (such as going to the basement art room), this should be done in a very orderly manner without any talking.
7. The perception core is designed for the use of approximately 100-120 pupils at a time. For such usage to be possible, it is virtually imperative that pupils work responsibly and quietly in this area. In order to establish proper normative standards for behavior, use of the perception core will be limited initially to individual activities.
8. Except in cases of emergency, requests for custodial services should be made to the office rather than to custodial personnel. Unless the matron is readily accessible, emergency cleaning needs should also be referred to the office for notifying the matron.
9. Addition to item B4 of library regulations (Dec. 8 bulletin): Pupils who are recognized as being consistently and conscientiously responsible in caring for materials and abiding by regulations may be issued permanent passes to the perception core. Should any such pupil fail to assume his responsibilities, the permanent pass may be withdrawn by the materials coordinator. Permanent passes have been ordered for each child from the Brodart Company.

10. The use of production equipment is restricted to the A-V technician, the instructional clerk, the materials coordinator, and the office secretary.

Figure 4.2. Further clarification of school policy.

were going to and from lunch, some of them were in their slippers and some of them were in their stocking feet and none of them had coats on. (12/10)

The arrival of Basic Skills and Transition

On Monday, December 14th, the total staff and all the children were in the new building. In general, it was an exciting time for pupils and staff.

The day began surprisingly well. The children in Basic Skills and Transition were very excited and were pleased to be in the new school. This seemed to be reflected in the things that they did, the excitement with which they walked around, the questions they asked about the building and the efficacy of the implied threats that "If you are not quiet, you won't be able to walk with us," which several of the staff used. There was a consistent lack of traffic in the perception core except right up to the end. Just before I left, the Basic Skills kids were out there with Chris and were looking for library books. I took a trip through ISD before I left, really before I had my last cup of coffee, and the view suggested that most of the people were pushing hard toward instructional programing. (12/14)

On the following day, the flavor is maintained:

Lunch was kind of fun in that people kept adding and leaving the group as they had free time. It started out with Liz alone, then Meg and I arrived, shortly thereafter Liz left and she was replaced by Claire and later Jean and Wanda and Kay, and then alternately David, Linda, and Pat joined. Jean thought today was going better than yesterday because yesterday she was still suffering from a long and fatiguing weekend. Her patience ran out on her yesterday afternoon, she said. Wanda sees today as not better than yesterday because the kids have lost their focus and nobody seems to know where they are going or what they are doing. Much joking back and forth, for instance, when Wanda and Sue and Jean were planning and arranging schedules for this afternoon, Claire made a comment very close to "last minute planning, Huh?" Wanda talked about all the problems with the red tape and the rules in terms of trying to get things done. She can't find a wastepaper basket and some other things. She's going to "steal" one. Meg was furious with one of the aides who would hardly budge in terms of doing some work for her. As she put it to Jean, she can't understand how they could

live with her for 3 or 4 months as they have at Basic Skills. She said she never would have gotten anything if Tom had not come by. There was additional good humor as Dan came by wondering if Meg had seen his lunch. She told him where it was. Later she told the rest of us that she spent five to ten minutes this morning going around from child to child trying to find out whose lunch this bag was. Later Dan indicated that the kids were teasing that Terrifico⁴ had eaten it. Sue was by, scrounging lunch off of several of the people, for she's on a diet and doesn't want to eat, yet she's hungry.

Wanda showed us how to cut out and make an elephant out of candycane and paper. It was quite novel and quite tricky. She learned this at a local nursery school. During this same interlude Meg commented that she had a number of different kinds of patterns and that the others in Basic Skills were quite welcome to borrow them. This kind of trading seems to be an important part of the school. It extends the notion of the increased repertory as part of the experienced teacher personality. If they could once get things organized, this sharing of ideas could increase at a great rate and be most helpful to the newer teachers and to those with less skills in several areas. (12/15)

The issues surrounding both formal and informal helping relationships are a part of the later analysis. Time limitations for materials construction by the staff, even with frequent exchanges in some of the teams were, as the later discussion indicates, quite severe.

THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL

The physical structure of the school, as any other "item," to use Merton's concept, is an element in the total system of the school. As any element of a system, it has its antecedents and consequences. Later we clarify the "mandate," the people's wish and the superintendent's action in

4. Terrifico was a large robot made of boxes, the culmination of a major art activity project in Transition. He had been brought from Hillside.

designing and erecting the building. This physical structure, as with the social structure, has its visible or facade components which are presented to the varying publics and its "real" or working components with which the members of the system, staff and pupils, must deal. In the closing days of school our notes relevant to these issues developed in the following manner and we insert them with only minimal stylistic editing.⁵

The Building: Facade and Reality

As part of the summary of the year, I have been looking at the A.D.I. sketch of Kensington, the innovative school. By reading materials from this and then adding reactions as I see the school at this point in time, we will have some interpretive comment taken right at the end which should provide a significant summary of much of what's happened.

For instance, the first page comments in this fashion, "All of the fantastic change in technology and knowledge of the past several decades would be meaningless had it remained a static local affair in each instance. In order to pass from theory to general fact, use, and progress, an idea must be on the working end of communication." The booklet goes on, "This profile shows what is happening to new ideas and school planning, program, and construction. It constitutes an index to the working end of communication, and by reaching the local administrators and disseminating the finest new ideas which appear in new school buildings, serves an indispensable part in the development of better schools."

As I think about this, it seems that Kensington has more than achieved goals in this area. The number and kinds of visitors who have been to the school are so numerous that it is difficult to organize and order them. People from the local metropolitan area and from all over the country, people from all kinds of educational enterprises, the public schools, the universities, the commercial companies, etc., have been in and out of the building at a phenomenal

5. It seems appropriate to comment that these notes were dictated over a long lazy early summer, Memorial Day, weekend. Sitting outdoors in the sunshine, the observer as interpreter reflected on the year's experience.

rate. Eugene has a folder of many letters from these people commenting on the program and what it has meant to them when they plan their own buildings and their own ideas and institutions scattered throughout the area. The publicity in the Daily Star, the write up which will come out in National Weekly, the selection of the school as school of the month, etc., all attest to this prestige and dissemination of ideas and points of view.

Another significant aspect of this dissemination notion relates to comments that Eugene has made recently and, which I think are involved in the recommendations that he submitted to the central administration, that playing this role of high visibility and dissemination has been an expensive one. A good bit of his time and a considerable amount of Tom's time has been spent indoctrinating and guiding such visitors about. He is asking for resources if this is to be done in subsequent years. He has also raised the notion of moving toward a much less visible position, in order to solve internal problems within the school. What has been profit to the district and to the superintendent has been costly and expensive to the day to day functioning of the school.

On page 4 of the document they speak of a Spirit of the Northwest Territory and "another expedition into un-chartered educational territory, new and dramatic approaches." They then go on and describe ten aspects of the new building and comment "nothing here is absolutely new and untried, but the startling array of new structural approaches to old educational problems is enough to make even the casual observer ask for reasons--and the answers on why the school is significant." They comment also, "these items do not just arrive from a pot-pourri of possible new approaches. They arise naturally and organically out of a new sort of program conceived and planned by the community, a program which requires new building concepts, new furnishing and staffing concepts, new problems and new questions."

Without question, these ideas were in the air during the early part of the year, August, September, etc. The notes will carry, I think, without contradictions, phrases by Jerl and Eugene among others that the school had much to contribute to education in present day America. They saw themselves as breaking ground with new concepts and ideas and approaches to teaching and learning. This vision of pioneering and innovating, a belief system in our terminology, was important and all pervasive. The August notes would have to be checked out, but I doubt if anyone really doubted that this is what they were about. The later disillusionment of such people as David, who perhaps carried

the idea the farthest, should show very dramatically during the course of the winter. One of the significant questions which it seems to me that we must answer, concerns how and why this vision was lost and what kinds of reasons and rationalizations grew to replace it. One phase of this could be in the rising frequency of statements of "wait till next year" type comment which is so characteristic of ball clubs having a bad season.

The Spiral Shape

The first of the ten items concerns the snail shell or caracole shape. The pamphlet characterizes this shape as a question mark on the one hand, and then contrasts it with "Belying its customary association with the long extinct, spiral cephalopods and the slow moving modern snail. This shape is, in fact, a prototype of evolutionary progress in educational growth." They continue to accent the question mark idea with the following comment, "It is a facility offering facility and speed, mobility, and flexibility to a non-graded, organic, fluid approach to inquiry."

Once again, without question, it seems to me that the paragraph captures the major thrust of the school. The accent on what came to be called "process" as opposed to "content" has been a major part of the belief system throughout the year. It also, as our notes will attest, has been a major point of conflict and discussion throughout the year. This probably, as much as anything, represents the major problem of translating ideals into specific, concrete programs of action. The only "real process" which seems to have come to fruition is in the area of reading and the Basic Skills Division. At that point, reading process is so equivalent to content of curriculum that it's very difficult to separate the two and it is perhaps not an appropriate example. More specifically, the processes involved in inquiry and science is perhaps the classic case for the school. For some children, and a small number in ISD, there has been a considerable amount of emphasis and actual work in a variety of what might be labeled "interest catchers" or what might be more appropriately called beginning experimentalism in physical science and biological science. Our notes will attest to the spring disillusionment among the ISD teachers with Jack who provided again what might be called an excellent illustration of this program in science for perhaps 15 percent of the ISD kids. They were never able to make workable the program for the large majority of the children. There is also late in May a comment on the fact that the

program in science is probably better with Jack no longer present. (He left because of illness.) In social studies, the process notions are perhaps best illustrated in Kay's unit on the stock market and Liz's unit on communism. The most telling critique probably lies in the issues discussed in the last few days of the notes concerning the inability to make use of the local tax campaign, as a significant issue in the instructional program to correlate with the degree of significance it possesses in the lives of the pupils as they deal with their family and the community.

It seems noteworthy to comment that such glowing words as "facility and speed, mobility and flexibility," while rallying cries for emotional appeals, the actuality is much more lack of facility and speed, mobility and flexibility. The confusion and disarray much more keynote the events as they unwind.

Teacher Work Center

The next section is entitled "The Teacher Work Center." In effect, this name has not been used; more typically it is called the Curriculum Center. As the profile comments "The area was designed to give the staff room to work individually in small groups in preparation for classes. . . from this 'gut' section will come a continual flow of learning materials, varied and unique and limited only by the demands of students' needs and by the capacity of machines and technical specialists employed by the program." In actuality, the work center is much more a gathering place for people to have lunch, drink coffee, and talk informally. The area also has been widely used in the community for a multitude of meetings. The staff, committee, team meetings, almost always utilize this area. Occasionally, one will see teachers grading papers or preparing materials. The images that come to mind are Alec with his stack of arithmetic papers and Jean or other people from Basic Skills team 4 who often will be checking materials as they sit chatting and drinking coffee. Very little intensive class preparation is done here.

The area contains several other features which deserve comment. First, there are the trapezoidal tables, which have perplexed the staff all year in terms of readily shaping them into a design that will be useful to sit around. On a number of occasions these have served very well to illustrate Eugene's desire to have everything "just

right." Second, the area contains the school's professional library which consists mostly of Tom's books which he has shelved profusely. Very seldom have these been used in any functional way. Only on a rare occasion have I seen anyone with one of the books checking a position or trying to amplify a point of view. Third, the problem of built-in facilities and storage space is also well exemplified. There is no built-in blackboard because this would cut down on the "flexibility" of the area. There are no cupboards except brief space in some of the lowboys. The filing cabinets jut out at an awkward angle and yet are very necessary. Fourth, this area and the Nerve Center below has been the one part of the building which has been kept inviolate from the students' access. I don't believe I have ever seen a pupil up here.

Fifth, this has been the area for congregating in the informal activity of the school. Seldom in the course of the day can one not find a conversation there. John and Tom and more recently Alec almost seem to live there. They are the ones with the flexible schedules and who can come and go at greater will. Eugene also is a frequent habituae of the place. To tie this point down, one might note that Mary and Carla are practically never there. I don't think I have seen them there informally during the course of the day. The BSD team 4 are there quite frequently, usually in singles or doubles. They, as we have indicated, perhaps more than any other group, have themselves well enough organized so that somebody has free time someplace almost all of the time. That's a bit too strong. The kindergarten teacher very infrequently is there. Among the Transition teachers there is less use than with Basic Skills team 4. However, Claire and Meg particularly are frequently there. Dan is about mostly at lunch time. In ISD the most infrequent use comes from David. There was almost no occasion for him to be there in the last couple months. During this interval he has literally withdrawn almost totally from the school staff. Linda, Liz, and Kay, particularly the latter, frequently come up for breaks during the course of the day. Invariably they just "leave" their children. Irma does not use the area to a very great degree, and Jack also is not a frequenter of the place. His absence from school in the last month or six weeks makes that interpretation a little harder to make. The real habituae is John. He is there almost as much as I am.

Another interesting point appropos of this concerns the teaching aides who are almost never up here unless they are working. Until now I hadn't really thought about that, but Arthur, Joan, Helen, Marjorie and Inez drink their coffee

down below or in the conference part of the office. As I sit here and think about that, I am struck quite dramatically at how clear that break has been. Tom mediates between the groups probably more than anyone, because Arthur, Marjorie both work in his area and the former works for him, and Helen also works for him. Administratively, most of their work comes through direct requests of the teachers. Tom also tends to keep Arthur quite busy and the pupils again obviously go directly to Helen regarding books and materials, but they are at the beck and call of the teachers. The matron seems to associate more with them also. There is another subgroup, the lunch help, which involves three or four women who also do not utilize the curriculum center. They also seem to run fairly independently of the teaching aide staff. There has been such a turnover of janitors that I have very little feel for their place in the organization. The other group that had made a large use of the curriculum center is the central office personnel. The most frequent visitor is Jerl who spends a good bit of his time while he is in the school in the center. Steven, when he comes, usually will have lunch or coffee there. Finally, it is a gathering place for a cup of coffee for many of the visiting educators who have people to talk to or who are being indoctrinated by Eugene. I think here particularly of Janine, the Latin American woman from Ohio, and of Matthew Clark from the National Weekly. They would interview and write their notes here.

In the teachers' lounge the informal point of contact has very dramatically been an unanticipated consequence. For our research purposes, it also highlights several aspects of the staff in terms of the varying relationships of professional, semi-professional and custodial.

The flow of creative materials described in the sketch has not come about.

This part of the A.D.I. sketch also states "Satisfaction of these planned processes require that the student have 50 percent of his time available for individual study and demand a greater, more uninhibited flow of space and materials between peripheral and internal areas of the building, than is available in traditional buildings or in the newer 'loft' concepts of space distribution." While I dare say half and even more of the student's time in some parts of ISD have been involved with individual study, the production of materials has not kept pace and might well be called a major flaw in the implementation of the total program. Later when we talk about needed resources, we will speak more to this general point. Not only is a technical staff

such as Arthur and Marjorie needed, but also a professional staff to generate the ideas which will then be implemented by the technicians. The ambiguity in Tom's role perhaps becomes even more dramatic concerning a point such as this. If he had been defined as the "instructional dean" with specific responsibilities to facilitate the work of the experienced teachers and to aid the inexperienced teachers, in a teacher training relationship, then the center might have worked more as it was hoped for. From early in the year over in the gym, Tom continuously backed off from assuming a strong directive role. The notes should contain a number of his comments that he was there to help them plan and suggest materials for units and program, but that his job was not to tell them what the units should be or to lay out the dimensions of the units. As I think about this now, he might have analyzed the situation and assumed this responsibility or Eugene in turn might have analyzed it and delegated this responsibility. Administratively, the autonomy of the self-contained classroom teacher was being violated by the interdependence of space and the interdependence of teams and the autonomy of instructional decisions could well have been broken into as well. This might have been a more ideal solution of the problems faced by Liz, David, Linda, Kay, and Dan in particular. The others who were more experienced and more able, Jack, Alec and Irma, could have utilized this service at a much more equalitarian level and in its resource aspect than the previously mentioned individuals.

Another way of looking at this might well be the lack of university resources. In a sense, Leslie Roberts was to provide some of this stimulation. Frequently in the meetings he would talk about sending materials and books and ideas on ways to do things. For whatever reason, this never reached the point of full productivity. If he had been involved full time in actually writing the materials or had an assistant or two who was available full time to take ideas, produce them, then this would have moved much more effectively. Perhaps he and Tom could have worked out this kind of relationship. As I think about Leslie's contribution I feel, at this point, and I would have to check the notes, that his own interests gradually moved from being helpful and instrumental in materials and methods to getting much more involved in his conceptualization of teaching reading and the measurement of it through content analysis of the tapes and much more involved in trying to implement a research program and much less in implementing the Kensington program as a program. If the notes bear this out, then this too accents the dilution and divergence of an initial and important resource to the curriculum program of

the school. Later we will want to talk about the dilution into the curriculum committee and its worry and concern with long term objectives rather than with day to day materials and units. To have really done this properly, however, would have required a series of curriculum specialists probably attached to a university with access to the ideas and to the broader realms of materials. Perhaps, too, more careful delineation of the resource persons responsibilities would have helped significantly here. One might consider ~~early~~ discussions of the roles of these two groups, particularly as Jack and David fought about this during the workshop period. If the people could have been marshaled under the leadership of Leslie or Tom or perhaps even Jerl from the central office into a smoothly working production team with the major burden of the utilization of materials falling with the individual teachers or academic counselors, then this too might have had a chance for more success. The lack of textbooks hurt the teaching program in the same way that the lack of originally produced materials hurt. We might also comment about later and in the last few months, the problems with budget and misuse of materials influencing the lack of paper, stencils, etc. Continuously tied in with this is the inexperience of the teachers in knowing what to do even though they have the materials. This flow of ideas, and materials to represent the ideas, illustrates a piece of the overall conceptualization and system of variables needed to account for the functioning of an elementary school. Appropos of this type of conception, we need to go back to Charters (1965) article on workflow which seems most important way of viewing the situation.

The Perception Core

The profile statement is a vivid picture of unreality. While fragments of it are part of the vision that once existed, almost none of it is a part of the reality of it now. Specifically, the profile says this: "Out of this grew the perception core concept which represents an advancement over the instructional materials centers and the resource and research centers just as they were an advancement over the older library concept. Where conventional learning patterns are conceived to begin in the homeroom or the classroom and to proceed to the library and back, the pattern here begins in the perception core area, expands and overflows into what were once called the classrooms but which we must call laboratory suites in order to describe the process adequately. Students entering the building with one week schedules

(as opposed to the contemporary 36 week schedules), go to the second of the three spirals and begin the day individually in special carrels or in small groups as planned. Their special areas of concentration or study may reach through a broad spectrum from a study of live biological specimens in or about the stream (that flows through a portion of the building along the edge of the core) to a study of foreign languages in one of several centers set up throughout the area. The five study centers, each designed to accommodate a specific subject area, consist of bookshelves and study spaces arranged in changeable patterns. The remainder of the perception core is fitted with isolated study booths and shelves for general reading matter and instructional materials, including phonograph records and tape players and headphones; small slide projectors for viewing at a desk by one student; filmstrip projectors; microfilm, microcard and microprint readers, teaching machines, portable television receivers with headphones, small motion picture projectors for small groups, and portable radio receivers with headphones."

Such was the dream of someone. The realities of the perception core are these: first, the area is called the perception core. This term is used by staff and students alike. Second, the central locus of the area is the desk or checkout counter which is very similar to a library checkout counter in any public school or more specifically in any good children's library. Helen and her student assistants hang out here. Third, there have never been fish or biological specimens in the aquarium. This, in spite of the fact that a local store volunteered to stock the pond. I don't know why this was not accepted. For a time there was water in the pond and for a time there were problems with children using it as a wishing well and throwing money into it. At this point I don't know why Jack never took the initiative to establish it as a major aquarium and wild life center. Fourth, the east end of the area over near the children's theatre was soon developed into an independent reading area for children from basic skills, especially team 4. It also has had wide usage by the transition groups. In effect it has become another instructional area for these very crowded division areas. By pulling some 10-30 children out of the major instructional area and into this part of the perception core, the load is reduced in the other areas and here the teachers move about reading with individual children as they in turn read from a variety of books at their ability and interest levels. I have very vivid images of Meg, especially, and Claire some, and Jean, and Sue, and Wanda, Elaine and Sarah (Elaine's replacement) utilizing this area. While there have been differences between Wanda

and Jean, for instance in the relative accent on having common materials with a text basis, with Wanda arguing for more of this and Jean arguing for less, the reading program has been intensive and has involved all of the children in almost a maximal way. Except for the very real difficulty about the unavailability of primer materials, this program has moved hard and has moved in the best individualized or differentiated fashion.

A further dramatic image I have of the perception core concerns the extensive utilization of encyclopedias. Never in my experience in and out of elementary schools have I seen so many children utilizing encyclopedias on so many different topics on so many different occasions as I have at Kensington. The perception core has had a constant flow of kids looking up Egyptian and Chinese writing, a host of biological things concerning frogs, snakes and worms and a variety of other information from literally every aspect of the curriculum.

Also, in the perception core there is an image of a few kids who are perpetually wandering around. I recall one day when Kay and I were watching one of the boys in her class as he moved from table to desk to leaning on the lowboy to punching a kid to bothering somebody else as he hopped from one portion to another portion of the area.

Further, there were times when individual teachers tried to utilize the space. Alec, for instance, tried to teach math there and Jack tried to hold science discussions and Joe held his Friday morning counseling sessions over in the western corner. This just did not work well. Joe's group was too noisy and uncontrolled and we have some fine quotes from Helen who tried to shush them once and found she was talking directly to Joe. Alec and Jack tried to set up science and math centers but this proved to be awkward and unfeasible. Throughout the year the area has contained sign-up sheets for math, science, art and a variety of other activities. These lists run from long to short with scratch outs of whole sections for total classes by some of the teachers to brief lists of individual pupils on some kind of program or instruction. A final image of the perception core, and one that is older and weaker now, is of the area as a hallway. During the middle of the winter when it was cold outside, the traffic through here was very great and a continuing problem. As far as I know, no plans have been made regarding it for next year.⁶ Throughout the middle part

6. Post year data indicate continued parental complaints regarding the outside walkway.

of the day from 11:00 to 1:00 there would be kids with trays of food going back and forth. Also it is the only hallway across the way to the theatre and to the art room and to the P.E. shelter and to the office. Each of these places has maximal usage a good part of the day. More recently with the weather being pleasant, the outside walkway has been utilized to a very high degree and this problem is almost non-existent. This controversy is rich with comments and quotations about whether the weather was inclement or not and comments and problems regarding the dogs who ate the children's food and the pneumonia which the parents thought the children were catching.

The statement "students entering the building with one week schedules (as opposed to the contemporary 36 week schedule)" is reminiscent of the first few days and weeks the junior high school, and of the perception core itself. The illusion existed that the children could sign up and would sign up and that the organization of the kids could be handled on an individual basis for the whole 200 children. By the time we moved to the building itself, there was no possibility of the students to "begin the day individually in special carrels or in small groups as planned"; they went to their self-contained area in the outside ring of laboratory suites, and through a formal system of signed passes they could then go into the perception core for specific purposes. The traffic flow was a major point of controversy between divisions, each of whom wanted some access to the space and some greater degree of utilization. Particularly this was true of transition and basic skills 4 who felt jammed and cramped into quarters which were inadequate. The commandeering of the east end as a reading area helped to alleviate these problems.

The special areas of concentration or study also has not worked out. Finally the books were arranged according to the classical Dewey decimal and library of congress system, and into appropriate shelves. None were designated as areas of science or social studies or language arts. After a number of patterns were tried, finally a workable arrangement of shelves and tables was achieved. This has remained fairly constant since then. Out here almost no use has been made of phonograph records or tape players; occasionally some small slide projectors or filmstrip projectors would be used. There is no microphone equipment; teaching machines are not available; and portable TV has not been part of this area. Similarly no portable motion pictures or radio receivers have been utilized.

In effect, much of what was distinctive about the perception core as opposed to a materials center or library has not been achieved generally in the school. However, this is not only a problem of the materials and facilities being available, but also there remains a problem of usage. The school has had an ample supply of maps and globes almost since the beginning of school. The use of these has been so close to minimal that only a time or two, and these most recently, have I seen anyone carefully utilizing maps. Part of the problem here is the fact the teachers have taught little geography in a basic group instructional sense or with several pupils. In this regard, they have not needed to make reference to the large maps that exist. Some of these are outstandingly beautiful and yet when the program is either non-existent or totally individualized, then one does not need to call upon maps as group devices. At this point in time, almost all of the globes which permitted chalking in areas, have been stored and are not in use. I can't recall now any image of someone utilizing this in ISD. Back in the gym there was a bit of use by Kay, I think. Similarly, almost none of the cycloteachers have been utilized in recent months. Partly this is due to the teachers feeling of the inadequacy of some of the programs and partly also to the novelty having worn off by their abuse during the first few months in the gym, and partly also to the expense of the paper which is utilized in the machine. The latter could have been handled, however, by obtaining cheap newsprints and having Arthur or Marjorie cut them to shape. Occasionally I heard talk about the possibility of these materials being developed into workable units by the teachers and by others. Here again, time and imagination and energy were lacking. The analogy I see is of a series of gems scattered about in disuse and ill repair because there has been no craftsmen to make the setting with its interlocking units into which the gems might fall.

While I am thinking of the perception core, I might comment about the restrooms which open off of it. There are no centralized restrooms for all of the children. Each restroom is a small individual unit that can be utilized by children individually rather than in total group recess. What has happened here is that these units have become gathering places and playgrounds for the children as they move out of their classroom and in and out of the perception core. There have been continual problems in keeping the kids out of the rooms except when they were necessary for their purposes. On occasion the rooms have been used as dressing rooms for kids who were putting on some kind of performance with costumes in their own areas of ISD. There is a quote or two in the notes about Eugene's contact with

the kindergarten teacher who would line her kids up with a whistle in an attempt to march them off to the restroom and then find that there was no restroom for them to march to as a group. In a sense, as intended, this facility also made it very difficult for the teachers to utilize the more traditional procedures. It forced them, again as intended, to more individualized, differentiated activities. Once again, the difficult link was that the very real intent of how to do these things was never fully elaborated. Only later were they worked out, and here not often well, after intense trial and error. They became part of the content of early Spring ISD team meetings.

One final comment concerning the cost of the school. The utilization of the audio materials and tape recorders and the centralized TV etc. awaits further financing. This will amount to large blocks of money. Also, the possible development and building of an outside wall around the outside hallway also awaits considerable financial resources. This is a long, long hallway which I would predict one day will be built to solve the internal problems of passageways. What that would have cost originally as it was added on to the building would be an interesting figure to divide into the \$13.50, or whatever, price per square foot of floor space.

The Learning Laboratory Suites

The profile sketch reads this way.

"The designation of classroom spaces as laboratory suites avoids the association with homeroom and baseroom procedures which are absent in this program."

This is patently not so at Kensington. The school has moved continuously toward more and more spaces designated as homeroom and baseroom areas.

The sketch states: "These 20 spaces, equipped with overhead projectors and other electronic and mechanical aides to be described in the section on the 'nerve center,' comprise the outer ring of the spiral shell and are divided only by moveable, visual dividers; in each class space thus must be defined as made more mutable by the further possibility of subdivisions or a complete movability of all furniture and equipment in these spaces." This sentence is generally quite true, there are overhead projectors in most of the areas; however, these are only occasionally used. The teachers

have moved much more toward the utilization of blackboards. As I think about this, the major difference in the blackboard and in the overhead lies in the necessity of pre-prepared transparencies. Here again, we are involved in the same problem that has been seen in our earlier discussion. The staff has had neither the time, the energy nor the resources to prepare an accumulating file of transparencies. Perhaps the most widely used ones exist in materials that Eugene uses to talk to groups of people who visit in the program. A gradually developing accumulating file of these implies that there are organized bodies of material that one wants to teach about and which will on later occasions also be taught. Such a file, like notes for lectures or like folders of pictures for particular events become a portion of every teachers' armamentarium. Here the problem is quite acute in that no one will admit to having this kind of a curriculum which is pre-built or prepared prior to some particular moment of need. Most of the need or use of these has been of a sort where one writes on them for the moment and then erases them later. This kind of use is more easily adaptable to a blackboard at least in terms of the experience of these people. When I think of my own teaching and the possibility of having this kind of material on file, and ready to be pulled out to illustrate or to demonstrate a particular point, then the real value of this comes forth. With the general inexperience of the teachers and the lack of articulation of any kind of program or curriculum, these materials then seem much less essential.

"Instant adhering chalk surfaces of plastic and like features of mobility and display in demonstration facilities satisfy the qualities of fluid space necessary for maximum utility of individual, small group and large group study." As I think of ISD, I am struck by the minimal amounts of this sort of thing. In basic skills, and some in the entry-way near the administrative suite, considerable display of creative artwork occurs. Very little of this is a part of the learning suites elsewhere. One might comment that Dan typically has piles and piles of "junk" lying around which he utilizes in his dramatic groups and for some of his instruction, much of this to the dismay and consternation of Claire. Related to this is a comment that I should have made regarding the perception core and the availability of space for displays in there. I have a distinct image of Eugene talking with Tom on two different occasions, one in which Tom was talking about trying to put up bulletin boards on the curved wall of the perception core. Eugene resisted this because it cut down on the flexibility of the use of the room. An alternative reaction might have been one of distress at the notion of flexibility impeding the solidi-

fication of the program in certain desirable ways. It would, as Eugene did indicate, prevent the reorganization of the perception core in other ways. He was arguing dramatically for the use of the bulletin board back of some of the storage cabinets. The second illustration was a situation in which Eugene asked Tom who would give the permission for Liz's group to put up signs regarding MacBeth, the play that her group had performed several weeks ago. Tom said that he had given them a general O.K. in that there seemed to be nothing he could do about it. Eugene was concerned about the loss of aesthetic quality in the development of kind of a junky look to the building. It is hard to emphasize enough how much of this consideration keeps coming into the events of the building. On a number of occasions he has been concerned about the arrangement of tables in the curriculum center and concerned about the looks of the building and what we have called in the notes "the facade" of a materials sort. Also, it should be noted the aesthetic qualities of the building are very very high in my judgment. The building is and has been a beautiful thing to look at and to work in. However, the point I would make here is that this aspect of the building seems to have gotten in the way of many more traditional goals of a public school.

"Tote trays further enhance the freedom of peripheral activity." These are physical facilities which have not existed in the building and about which there has been almost no discussion that I can recall at the moment. Racks of these might well have provided storage space which was a continuous problem in the gym and which helped move toward having pupil stations which belong to individual children. A tote tray or two would have prevented the necessity for assigning kids to individual desks. As I think about this, I am struck by the larger generalization that very minute items in the materials arrangement which have been neglected have had far-reaching effects on the program and the later structures which have been developed. For instance, if each person had had two of these in which he could keep his books and other materials, one for total storage and one to carry with him as he went from activity to activity, then the whole complexion of the program would have been different. These could have been built as low storage units, perhaps, six or eight tote trays high and maybe six or eight tote trays wide, which would have permitted two per person in each of the areas and which could have been back-to-back on the various sections of ISD. With these the kids could have rotated among teachers among instructional areas bringing just what they needed for whatever purposes they might have.

Then they wouldn't have been caught with the problems of needing a desk to store things and of the constant quarrels over somebody using my desk or getting into my materials or taking my pencils, etc. This raises also the more general need for a careful analysis of materials and physical facilities in psychomotor learning and in the analysis of group functioning. It might be well to observe the way in which pupils in high school or junior high school use their lockers or to observe a home economics class as it utilizes tote trays in a more restricted and confining way. I don't know if data exists on the impact of that kind of an item in the interaction and activities of the classroom. There are naturalistic situations in which these do function well and ably. Experiments could be designed also to develop more knowledge about them.

A final comment might be made about the statement "This peripheral movement is even further augmented by a free flow of traffic (without corridors!) to the central spirals through immediate access to the laboratory suites." This flow of traffic, rather than being a free flow in a positive sense, has been chaotic as we've commented and the demand for corridors is one that has not been well handled.

The description of the learning laboratory suites continues: "The natural flow of the program carries the student from perception core to the laboratory suite where he encounters special teachers and assistants. Where his studies developed along lines of breadth in the core, they now begin to close in on the specifics in reaching for depth." This is so far from reality, it's impossible to make an intelligent comment upon it. There is so little formal instruction for the majority of the kids, except for perhaps Irma's section of LSD, that one sees very little evidence of depth in any kind of study. The major exception to this is the large amount of writing on rather brief papers growing out of work with the encyclopedias especially.

"The program for kindergarten and first-year pupils is more directive than that described above, and motion for these children is more nearly confined to specific areas with specific home groups." Without question, basic skills is much more organized and much more directive than any of the other areas. This seems true for both the team of two and the team of four. Here again, this is the only place where intensive instruction is given systematically to large groups. Here also, one gets some feeling of a joy of teaching which does not exist with a number of the others in the overall program.

The Children's Theatre

Herein lies the actualized heart of the vita envisioned. Dan, Chris, Elaine, and occasionally Wanda, Carla, and others have made the theatre into a reality. The profile reads as follows: "The perception core is separated from the children's theatre by the life science dream in a glass wall. The theatre itself is unique. It was designed for the children. A large open space is surrounded by three simple acting areas each of which may be used for simultaneous production and two of which are joined by a bridge that crosses the life-science pool, extending into the theatre a short distance. With the open-stage concept, drama presentations are to be staged utilizing portable flats designed and built by the students. Creative thought is stimulated in this flexible space, student interest expanded by the acting tower, including an enclosed spiral stairway leading up to a balcony which looks out over the theatre."

In part, the physical description is inadequate. The pool only comes a short way into the theatre. There is no bridge which crosses over it. The phrase "for simultaneous production" is ambiguous. If it means that the areas can be used for different productions at the same time, then, obviously, it does not hold true. The noise and the carrying of voices makes any kind of independent usage impossible. If by this is meant having two areas which can serve as separate scenes for the same play, then this meaning of simultaneous is very true.

The center of the theatre is depressed two steps below the basic floor level of the building, and this area, all of which is carpeted, can be used as a seating area for pupils without bringing chairs from the classrooms. This, too, is a reality. Not only do the kids sit here without chairs, they lounge, they lie, they flounder about on the floor.

The theatre has been perhaps the most successful and the most creative part of the school. Just yesterday, for instance, Irma's group of the least able pupils presented a "patriotic program" for Memorial Day. While the theatre wasn't used in any novel or original way, it provided a focus for this kind of a meeting. The kids sit comfortably on the carpeted steps, lounge occasionally, and generally relax and partake of the various offerings. The notes contain extended lists of the productions which have occurred there.

The rear view screen facility has been only partially adequate. The movie projector works very well with the

attachment that was put on the front of the lens. The slide projector does not work well in that it doesn't magnify to a great enough degree. The distance is a handicap here. One further unanticipated phenomena concerns the projection from the front as opposed to the rear of the screen, and the fact that one usually needs a monitor in the auditorium with the children. Recently, last week, I observed a film-- The Discriminating Frogs and Toads--during the noon hour. Arthur was the only adult present. He showed the film from the outside with normal projection procedures. If he had been on the inside of the projection room then he would not have been able to monitor the children and, in effect, supervise them. The point I am suggesting, I guess, is that the design of many aspects of the building seem more fitting for an older group of children who are better able to care for themselves and who need less supervision.

"The area can also be used for large group instruction or as an auditorium facility." Except for movies and occasional discussions such as Eugene's recent discussion on the school tax, the auditorium has not been used instructionally. Perhaps the fundamental truth is that there has been no topic which seemed worthy of being instructional for the total group. There have been no instructional assemblies as it were. There have been no lectures for the entire school. On several occasions the room has been used for large parent groups. Most recently when the slide and audio presentation on the school was presented this spring the auditorium, the Children's Theatre, worked very successfully.

As I continued to listen to the broad generalizations stated by the writers of the Profile, I am struck even more, as I have been on occasion in the past, with the need to ask for specific procedures and practices and examples that fit the overall generalization. Specifically again, the notion of utilization for "large group instruction" sounds nice, seems to fit the jargon of the times, and yet, when you think concretely of what kinds of things are going to be taught to large groups and how are these groups to be managed and how is the content to be integrated, sequenced, and scheduled, then, one is up against a whole series of knotty problems. Without the specific, concrete example to think through, then one cannot proceed in any optimal way. It seemed to me that this was characteristic of the thinking and planning all year. In fact, it would be well to go back through the notes, particularly in August, and find the kinds of illustrations that were discussed when reference was made to any of the generalizations, but particularly small group, large group, multiple-sized groups, etc.

The Physical Education Shelter

The shelter is described in glowing terms: "Combining vast savings over gymnasium construction (which is usually poorly utilized in elementary schools) with the enhancement of proper acoustical form for a community amphitheater and for summer evening band concerts, this shelter is an inexpensive improvement on an old solution. The multi-use concept applied here was deliberately conceived and planned to offset the 'multi-useless' room frequently built into the elementary school. Sides of the whole shelter were protected by banks of shrubbery which deflect the winds which are then carried up and over by the shape of the roof.

"The infra-red heating units are ideal for the shelter, because rather than heating the air, which would be intolerably wasteful, these units heat to a comfortable degree the children and the objects that stand or pass beneath them."

It's difficult to know where to begin to describe the illusion and the reality. I, personally, have no data on the degree of utilization of gymnasiums in elementary schools. I would doubt that they are "poorly utilized," as the ADI sketch describes it. A very simple study could well be set up to determine the adequacy of and the kinds of utilization of gymnasiums. This should be carried out in the context of varying climates. The California design of much of this equipment seems inappropriate for a community such as Milford which has intolerably warm summers and damp and sloshy winters. Since I have been in the school I have heard no remarks regarding the use of the amphitheater for summer band concerts or other kinds of activities. To my knowledge no use of the outdoor facility for any kind of total school gathering has occurred.

The use of such labels as "multi-useless," while frequent in August and in the fall, has almost disappeared recently. On many occasions the staff has had strong reason to wish for inside play and multiple purpose use of space. John, particularly, has been tremendously handicapped in the PE program. During the winter the shelter was almost useless for his purposes. The notes are full of many, many conversations with his total concern and defeatism over this.

It's important to note also that it was intended that the shelter would be protected by "banks of shrubbery which deflect the winds which are then carried up and over the shape of the roof." This may be another of those very simple

aspects which for reasons of finance or reasons of forgetting, or for reasons of change in intention, have not been implemented and which may have carried a tremendous burden. There seems to be little question that the shelter areas suffered materially during the winter because the wind would blow in the rain and the snow. A bank of densely planted shrubs undoubtedly would have helped this condition. More recently, the shrubs would have shielded the shelter from some of the dust which has blown in from the unpaved and unsodded earth surrounding the area.

The sketch, in describing the heating units, speaks of "intolerably wasteful" in regard to any other kind of heating in this area. While that is a pretty phrase, it is also an inaccurate one. The heating units have been totally inadequate. They are mounted too high, and there are too few of them. What this meant during the winter was that the children played in hats and coats, almost as though they were out on an open playground. Only when one stood directly underneath the unit was it warm enough to be without a coat. And there, typically, it was under the units on the stage rather than in the open play area.

In summary, the PE shelter has been one of the most widely acknowledged inadequate features of the school building. The wind, as we have commented, has been severe. In the winter it was rain and snow, and in the spring it was dust. The shelter has been a gathering place for dirt and leaves in recent months. My guess is that in the fall it will become a very serious problem as the leaves fall and blow in. Day after day we have cited in the notes the fact that the area was dusty and dirty and only occasionally were there resources to clean it.

A final observation or comment on the PE shelter might well be supplied by the way in which John spoke about his decision to remain at Kensington. The point I would make is that he rationalized, in part, his decision by accenting the relationships he has had with the other teachers and the way in which they have accepted the PE program as part of the total curriculum. While this is very true, it changes the emphasis that he had made earlier when he was considering the Kansas job away from the inadequacies of the shelter, the playground space, and the field. These latter points have been quite crippling, and will take a tremendous amount of money to alter. The school system just doesn't have that kind of financing. Apropos of these other facilities, it seems to be important to note that the school was not able to organize and develop a systematic workable program surrounding the use of the parking lot as a playground area.

or the use of the circle as a playground area, the ideas it seems to me came rather late and also the staff was not unified enough to reach a workable agreement here. Without too much difficulty, parking could have been on the street north of the school, and the street west of the school, and potentially in the circle, while the lot remained free as playground space. There may have been other community factors involved here. Similarly, the use of the field was impossible because of the new grass. The erosion also was quite bad. The pond also did not become viable as a science center or other activity center. All these items might best be categorized as difficulties in opening up a new building. They do get complicated, however, in that the pond, for instance, could have been cleaned by a couple of the teachers interested in science if these teachers had not been already overly committed to other activities, and didn't have the time. The utilization of kids on Saturdays as working teams to help clean it up and develop it would also be possible. A very interesting unit on local ecology, bird life, reptile life, microscopic animal life, botanical life in and around the pond, and the school ground, would be possible. As I think about that, that could have been a most exciting unit of work.

Visual, Acoustical and Thermal Treatments

The sketch statement continues: "Though there is little need to defend the use of carpeting and air conditioning on economic grounds, it is significant here that the savings effected by the physical education shelter, the satellite kitchen, the lack of corridors and walls, and by the form of the building, have more than paid for the initial installation of these items." Economically, we are in no position to make a commentary on these facilities. Unquestionably, space that doesn't go to corridors might well go for something else. We have commented at some length about the corridor problem. Suffice it to say at this point, that when large groups of children move from one location to another location, their path, whatever it be through, becomes a corridor in the best sense of that term.

"Satellite kitchens" is a fancy name for the fact that there is a very small kitchen and dishwashing area in the school. This demands that hot food be brought in daily from other, larger, and more well equipped kitchen areas in the district. The notes are replete with statements of the difficulty in orbiting this particular satellite. Ultimately, the kitchen was located in 108 which the building inspectors

had deemed would be a hall and an emergency exit. This space originally was intended as another classroom area. Apparently the legal code also does not recognize the lack of corridors as a functional way of organizing a building. During the course of the mid-winter, the people from the kitchen department and the central office were moved and shuffled about as they set up originally in the theatre in the central portion, and then later over on one side of the theatre where kids were prone to hop, skip and jump up the various levels in the theatre, till finally they ended up in 108, first on the side of an interior wall and then later on the outside wall. Thus, difficulty in getting a regularly located spot for the serving of meals finally was resolved.

The other half of the situation, that part involving where the pupils would eat, never did reach the same degree of solution. A multi-purpose room which would have tables fold out from the walls for the lunch hour and where many children could eat at the same time did not exist at Kensington and, in effect, each classroom or laboratory learning suite becomes a cafeteria. From approximately 11:30 until 1:00 or 1:30 there are children in one area or another who are eating. The original idea of having children drift off individually to have lunch did not work out. In effect, each division then was assigned roughly half hour intervals in which most of their eating would be concentrated. This was to prevent jam-ups at 11:30. Perhaps the most basic problem that this created was that it tied the teachers down quite dramatically to the supervision of children. Only in Basic Skills, team 4, and some in Transition was this rotation of teacher supervision handled well. Typically, one teacher and one of the teaching aides would carry on the responsibility of being with the children, and the others, in one shift or another, would be off to the curriculum center for lunch. In ISD, typically it meant that the kids roamed around unsupervised through a good part of the period for there was very little trading or watching in any consistent way. This would be contrasted with the more typical public school where one or two teachers would have lunchroom duty supervision one day a week or three days in two weeks, etc. In effect, the teachers had no total freedom away from the kids without having to keep one eye on the clock for when their turn came or with some guilt that no one was looking after the children at that point.

A further complication which occurred was the fact that food was all over the building. Some of this naturally got spilled, dropped, and slopped over. This provoked all kinds of problems, one illustration being an anecdote told by someone, which we have recorded in the notes, about kids carrying

hamburgers in their pockets to keep them warm when they made the outside trip. Beyond this, there is one huge streak in the rug in the hallway of the administrative suite. A pupil had dripped a sloppy joe along the way and someone had tried to clean it up using the wrong technique. This streak has been there for several months, and apparently will take a major cleaning in the summer to get it out. Litter and garbage cans have accumulated and been about in many areas. I am reminded here of sitting in Transition just yesterday and noticing under one of the highboy cabinets dust and dirt and scraps of paper, and crayons which seem to have been lying there for weeks, if not months. The major point I would make is that with the food dispersed all over, the cleaning and maintenance problem is much more acute than it would be if eating were localized.

Perhaps at this point it is appropriate to talk further about the carpeting. Again, I don't know whether ultimately it will be cheaper and more economical than tile. Aesthetically the carpeting is beautiful and is comfortable to walk upon and to view. From the children's point of view, almost uniformly, it seems to me, they have responded very well to the carpeting. They like to run about in their stocking feet or go barefoot on the carpeting, and particularly now when it is permitted only in the theatre they enjoy playing their Huck Finn type roles. They enjoy lying and lounging on the carpeting particularly again in the theatre where it is more permitted. Also, the scuffling, wrestling, horseplay, and rough-housing of the boys benefits maximally from the carpeting in that one can roll and bounce and tug without skinning elbows or bruising oneself.

On the negative side, the most important consequence of the carpeting, it seems to me, has been in the parental reaction. Uniformly at a meeting where complaints are being voiced about the district or about the school, someone is bound to mention the issue of the carpeting. It has become a rallying cry for those who are against "the monuments" in the district.

The acoustical property of the carpeting, while it may cut the noise, does not really maximize the silence enough that teachers can hold group instruction of several kinds in the same area where there is not a wall between.⁷ This was a very serious problem in the junior high gym during

7. Similarly, the acoustically treated ceiling did not contribute to an adequate solution of the sound problem.

the Fall and one which people thought would be much better in the school itself. This has not turned out to be so. One of the illusions of the pamphlet is that you can make a room quiet enough in this fashion.

The Nerve Center

"The nerve system, also not so obvious to the casual observer, lies below the teacher work area and the production center at the very heart of the building. In it is housed the instantaneous storage and retrieval system geared to receiving audio-visual information from a number of sources, storing of such information and immediately dispersing it by way of television, recordings or tape, upon command by the dial system, to any part of the building."

As this is stated, it evokes dream-like images. As one observes, the nerve center reality is very different. Rather than instantaneous storage and retrieval systems, basically we have Arthur, Marjorie and Tom. Arthur, as we have indicated, is very busy as a general assistant and aide for handling materials, supplies, and equipment. Marjorie is working hard daily on cutting stencils and running the ditto machine. Tom sits at his desk smoking his pipe, paging through catalogs, or writing lengthy statements to commercial companies who might give the school materials of one kind or another. Metaphorically, the nerve center houses its greatest stimulant in the coffee pot. Here, each day are brewed two urns of very good coffee. Before school, the place hums particularly with the Basic Skills team 4 teachers in and out with materials and stencils for their program of the day. During the course of the day, the staff is in and out particularly for coffee but for occasional words of comment to the others. Finally the nerve center is the gathering place of the semi-professional staff; Arthur and Marjorie are frequently visited by Helen, Joan and Inez. It is a very busy place and it is very social.

The major problem actually lies in the fact that the school does not have the financial resources to provide the necessary equipment. While the close-circuit TV of Milford County was here, a good bit of experimenting, in the loosest sense of the term, actually trial and error usage of equipment, occurred. There have been no major storage banks of tapes that can be played upon call in an individual classroom setting. The major taping cart has typically been in ISD. The individual tape recorders are scattered throughout the building. There has been very little production of materials

which have broad universal and cumulative possibilities. While I don't have an actual count on overhead transparencies, my guess is that there are very few of these, except for those used to describe the school, which will have much use in succeeding years. Tom has accumulated and filed an enormous amount of materials for science and social studies by authors and topics and areas. In the shakedown of the teaching procedures this year, minimal use has been made of this. Arthur and Tom have been extensively involved in retaping materials from the Milford County Audio-Visual center. Some of this has had considerable use in the school. For instance, just this last week Kay's group was listening to a tape of the story "Wheel on the school." Coming to learn these mountains of potential curricular materials is one of the very real problems for an inexperienced teacher. In effect, the ready supply of resources at one's fingertips is a major hurdle. Presumably these problems are attributable heavily to inexperience and also the general problem of opening the school building.

The Administrative Suite

Little, so it seems, needs to be said about the administrative suite. It does not actually open on to 10 of the 20 room spaces as the brochure claims nor is it divided with storage elements to include general and specific areas. The most fundamental fact of the administrative suite lies in the lack of privacy permitted anyone. As it stands now, the principal's section is partially walled off with cabinets but is basically open and conversations can be heard while one walks from the front door into the children's theatre or as one stops and picks up his mail in the boxes located in the administrative suite. Similarly, the secretary's desk sits right in the middle of the suite and the phone rings and conversations can be heard all over the suite. One of the administrative assistants sits directly across from the principal and handles a variety of the routine duties of the school. The nurse and the speech teacher who use the small conference table cabinet walled area also have no privacy. The space has not been adequate for counseling. In this sense, Joe has had his small counseling groups in the perception core rather than in the office area; even in that spot he has had considerable difficulty.

The Atmosphere

"This structure was designed to stimulate creative

thinking, to facilitate purposeful motion and to assist thereby the development and flow of critical thinking, in the creation of an educational experience such as our best knowledge has long told us was necessary--yet which our children in the past have too seldom had. The structure provides an open-life-space--warm, inviting, and profoundly significant."

The rhetoric of the first sentence speaks for itself. It produces no concrete images.

A similar comment it seems to me, might well be made in terms of the final section of the report entitled "The Citation" in reference to the fact that the yearly school building architectural exhibit at the AASA was awarded a special citation. The citation states: "Imaginative architecture leading to intriguing design. The overall atmosphere is in tune with the interests and imaginations of young children. This building is flexible, freeflowing, and functional."

And Freddy is the outcome.⁸ This then is the reality profile of a significant school.

IN SHORT

The building was not ready in September, as originally planned and hoped. The temporary quarters were abandoned in early December. We have described some of the problems and issues in the move to the new building. The physical structure of Kensington was imaginative and beautiful in the judgment of everyone. In anticipation, before the building was built, the Architectural Design Institute's Sketch described Kensington in great detail. In equally great detail we have taken issue with this anticipatory account. We have tried to discriminate the "reality" from the "dream" or

8. In our later discussion of "Humour at Kensington," we note that the product of Kensington was described by the staff in a warm good-natured way as "Fully Functioning Freddy."

as we call it later "the facade," the view of Kensington that has been presented in many forms to many publics. The weight of this description has been carried by long dictated accounts which appeared in the summary notes near the end of the year. In later interpretive sections we will have occasion to quote other aspects of the field notes which provide further illustration and evidence concerning the general interpretation.

Chapter Five

Organizational Development and Change

INTRODUCTION

An Analogy

Human beings are conceived, born, grow, stabilize, decline and eventually die. A potency and universality exists about the process, for though the periods may be lengthened and shortened by one's own decision or by accidents of nature, and though the quality and variety of the life may differ, the process grinds on inexorably. The developmental psychologist takes cognizance of the phenomenon through such conceptions as developmental tasks and developmental stages. The long view gives a perspective, a set of goals, and a rationale for actions during periods of an individual's life. The parent addresses himself to bowel and bladder training in the early years, the enrichment of symbolic experience as a prelude to reading instruction for the six year old, the child's pleasures of chumship in middle childhood and the developing heterosexuality of the teen years. The question we have asked of ourselves and our data is a simple one, "Do organizations have an analogous life history?" Even if the analogy falters and organizations do not move so inexorably through phases, it is safe to say that new organizations do come into existence and some do cease existing. A second question comes rather easily from the analogy: Are there problems, issues, or events which tend to arise early in an organization's life and to which attention must be paid? Then, later, do new issues arise? Our perception of Kensington leads

us to a qualified affirmative answer. In this chapter we will attempt to speak in more detail to such questions of organizational development and change.

The merit of such a quest has been strongly supported by Katz (1951) who makes the statement:

What is still very much needed for social psychology in general, as well as for a knowledge of leadership, is a set of descriptive concepts for the attributes of organizations which will go well beyond the old formal-informal distinction. For example, we need to direct attention to such elementary aspects of organization as growth patterns. A rapidly developing organization which has certain goals to achieve under emergency time pressures presents an entirely different time pattern from a stable organization which may have passed the peak of its power. In the former case, the leadership pattern may emphasize initiative, creativity, daring, and, to some extent, a rejection of traditional pathways to goals and even a reformulation of organizational goals. The organization may be one in which there is tremendous upward mobility and high motivation. (p. 144)

Three Kinds of Early Problems

Tucked away in a volume on leadership as statesmanship, Selznick (1957) presents a brief discussion of three developmental problems in the origins of an organization. In his analysis, the problems confront the organization with critical policy issues and decisions. For our analysis, they provide us an introduction to organizational development. The selection of a social base, the building of an institutional core, and the formalization of procedure constitute the problems. Selznick comments in regard to the first conception:

The early phase of an institution's life is marked by a scrutiny of its own capabilities, and of its environment, to discover where its resources are and on whom

it is dependent. The achievement of stability is influenced by this appraisal; and the future evolution of the institution is largely conditioned by the commitments generated in this basic decision. (p. 104)

Concerning Kensington, we will have more to say as we analyze the school's relationship to "the everpresent environment." For the moment, we would indicate the lot of Kensington was cast with the new superintendent, and his assistant, the curriculum director. Shelby was part of the new guard of Milford, and his school was a major element in the new program. The dependency here was so great that the superintendent's departure, a temporary one year leave which later became permanent, and the curriculum director's departure at the end of the first year were mortal blows. While no one knew it at the time, one might argue that was the moment that Kensington died.

"Building the institutional core" is the second task suggested by Selznick. By creating an initial homogeneous staff one has a variety of consequences:

- 1) . . .indoctrinate newcomers along desired lines.
- 2) . . .provide assurance that decision making will conform, in spirit as well as letter, to policies that may have to be formulated abstractly or vaguely.
- 3) The development of derivative policies and detailed application of general rules will thus be guided by a shared general perspective. (p. 104)

Selznick argues that selective recruiting and shared experiences provide twin procedures for handling the problem. In regard to these issues he makes generalizations which our data suggested must be sharply limited or qualified.

The creation of an institutional core is partly a matter of selective recruiting. . . .By choosing key personnel

from a particular social group, the earlier conditioning of the individuals becomes a valuable resource for the new organization. (p. 105)

In a new organization which is an innovative one, the criteria for selection are considerably more ambiguous. The option of accenting highly recommended but inexperienced teachers and the aspiration to train them in the new directions seems, in hindsight, to have resulted in a host of consequences, many of which were dysfunctional for Kensington. Also, as we talk of true belief in an innovative organization, important self-selective personality factors seem to operate in terms of availability for recruitment.

Selznick's second, really second and third, generalization regarding the building of an institutional core is interesting in the light of the data from Kensington.

But core building involves more than selective recruiting. Indoctrination and the sharing of key experiences--especially internal conflicts and other crises--will help to create a unified group and give the organization a special identity. (pp. 105-6)

Indoctrination occurred in the summer workshop. The T-groups, the division, team, and committee meetings, and the institutional plan all contributed toward the imbuing of principles and doctrines. Interwoven and extending into and throughout the year, internal conflicts and crises occurred. They did give Kensington a special identity, but they did not create a unity. Our guess would be that an organization must be successful in the eyes of the participants and in the eyes of significant others. That is the sine qua non. If one has that, then internal conflicts and crises provide stimuli for high emotion which has a positive, exciting quality to it and such sentiments lead to unity and identity. Our intro-

ductory epilogue observations of the "Bataan phenomenon" suggest additional intricacies and qualifications to Selznick's more general statement.

When he speaks of "formalization," Selznick means:

The organization reduces its dependence on the personal attributes of the participants by making supervision more routine and by externalizing discipline and incentive.
(pp. 106-7)

Implicit in his statement is a concern for When? and Where? and How soon? within the organization. The gains from early formalization¹ are clarity in communication and command. The losses are limitations in flexibility, open-endedness, and freedom for leadership decisions. Kensington presented a unique twist regarding formalization. First, a high degree of formalization existed early in the manifestation of the formal doctrine known as the Institutional Plan. As we argue elsewhere, such formalization may have come too early. Second, the doctrine itself accented flexibility as an important subgoal. Third, a variety of experiences, e.g., the T-groups, accented a lack of formalization. Fourth, Shelby exhibited contrasting leadership modes of total non-directiveness to unswerving commitment to elements in the institutional plan. Fifth, styles of the staff varied from almost total personal autonomy to high willingness to accept organizational or sub-group perspectives. In short, formalization was not of a single piece at Kensington.

1. More extended analysis of doctrinal formalization occurs in chapter six.

DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES AT KENSINGTON

On Having a History: the Economy of Social Structure

Introduction

School personnel, probably like people in general, frequently do not appreciate what it means for an organization to have a history. To have a history is to have a social structure, an equilibrium in ways of doing things, in responding to problems, in having routines, and so forth. A major part of organizational development lies in building an equilibrium, a social structure. Compared with other organizations, a school has a rather interesting social structure. A major dichotomy exists in the age of its members, for the adults are concentrated into a subgroup of teachers and administrators. Beyond age, power, freedom, knowledge, and maturity are concentrated among them. The faculty also is a minority. In this manner a school is a special kind of organization.²

However, if a natural history of an autonomous organization were described, we presume it would have small beginnings--few participants, limited resources, and trial and error procedures for reaching its goals. The required decisions would be relatively simple and as they occurred they would be accumulated, examined, and formalized into social structure. Over time, specialized roles would develop, routine activities would be instigated almost automatically to recurring stimuli, and the members of the organization would be able to tell an outsider or newcomer about "the

2. As we have indicated elsewhere, the problems in a comparative theory of organizations, beyond the kind of compliance patterns suggested by Etzioni (1961), seems a necessity for understanding elementary schools.

way things are done here." In time the latter would carry a righteous or normative quality as well. The organization would attain a coordination of an artistic sort, much like the smoothness one sees in a highly skilled psychomotor performance such as diving, gymnastics, or golf. In Figure 5.1 we summarize this hypothetical natural development. Considerable time and energy resources are involved in making innumerable decisions which accumulate into a social structure which then serves to guide and direct the participants and leads to economy in goal attainment.

Insert Figure 5.1 about here

To this point, our thesis is relative simple: a new but autonomous organization moves through a slow process of decisions, trial and error, activities and gradual growth and formalization. However, a new and developing organization that has been created whole (in respect to full size of members, staff and pupils) and without a history does not have a social structure, but it does have ties with a parent organization. Without this social structure, the new organization generally appeals more frequently to available documents, formal doctrine and the mandate from the larger parent organization. In addition, a continuous series of decisions to the "problems of the moment" occurs. Inevitably, because of the complexity of the human condition, these decisions are conflicting to some degree. This precipitates staff confusion, frustration, and in many instances emotionality. The very task of making the decisions is a tremendously time consuming and fatiguing process and drains resources from other aspects of the organization. Each of these in turn generates meet-

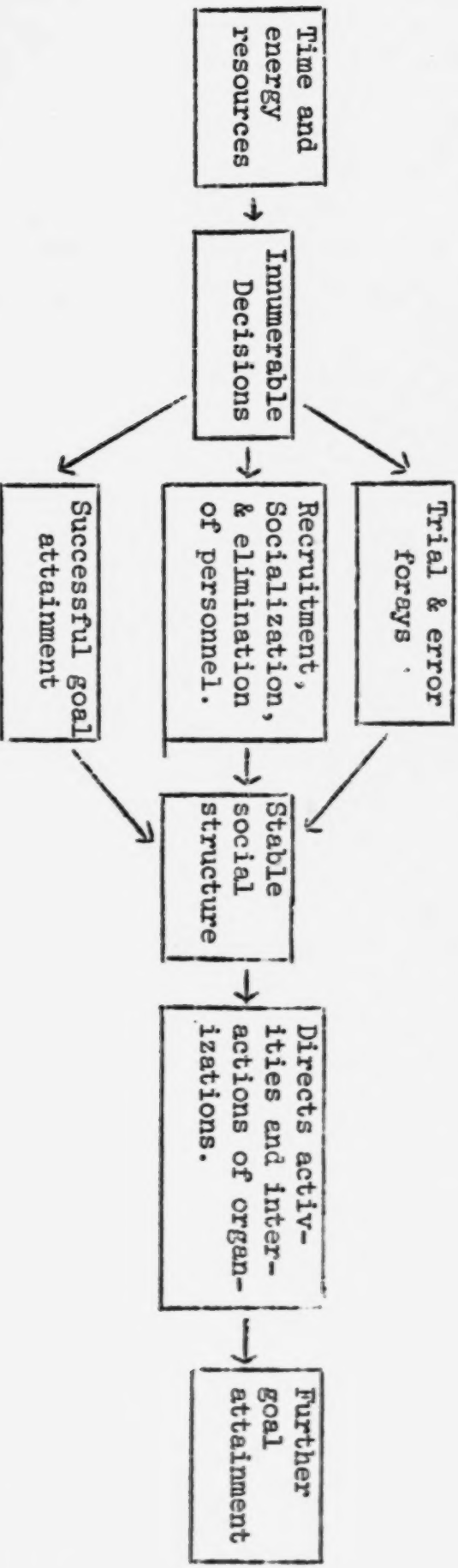


Figure 5.1 The hypothetical natural history of an autonomous organization.

ings and conferences and more drain in time and energy, a vicious circle which can be tremendously debilitating.

In an educational organization severe consequences occur in the resulting confusion and disturbances in teacher-pupil relations. No one knows for sure just what to do, directions are not clear, control of pupils is jeopardized. This is coupled with limited time and energy for preparation, due to other meetings. In sum, the most severe consequences, a kind of anxiety that might be called terror, is created. Meeting a group of youngsters when procedures in teacher-pupil relations are confused, and when one has inadequately prepared for the lessons, qualifies as such a consequence. In an earlier investigation (Smith & Geoffrey, 1965) we make an extended analysis of the phenomenon of classroom control within a slum classroom. Knowing that pupil compliance will occur at a high probability to the frequent commands, both major and minor, in a traditional classroom, is a very reassuring phenomenon. A related investigation (Connor & Smith, in process) indicates that control is a key item in the apprentice teacher's schema and learning. At Kensington, the lack of a social structure, the complications in learning i.e., one's teaching behavior being contingent on one's colleagues who exhibited varying degrees of dependability, as well as on the children with whom one was working directly, created a most debilitating situation for a number of the staff--especially those in the Independent Study Division.

Insert Figure 5.2 about here

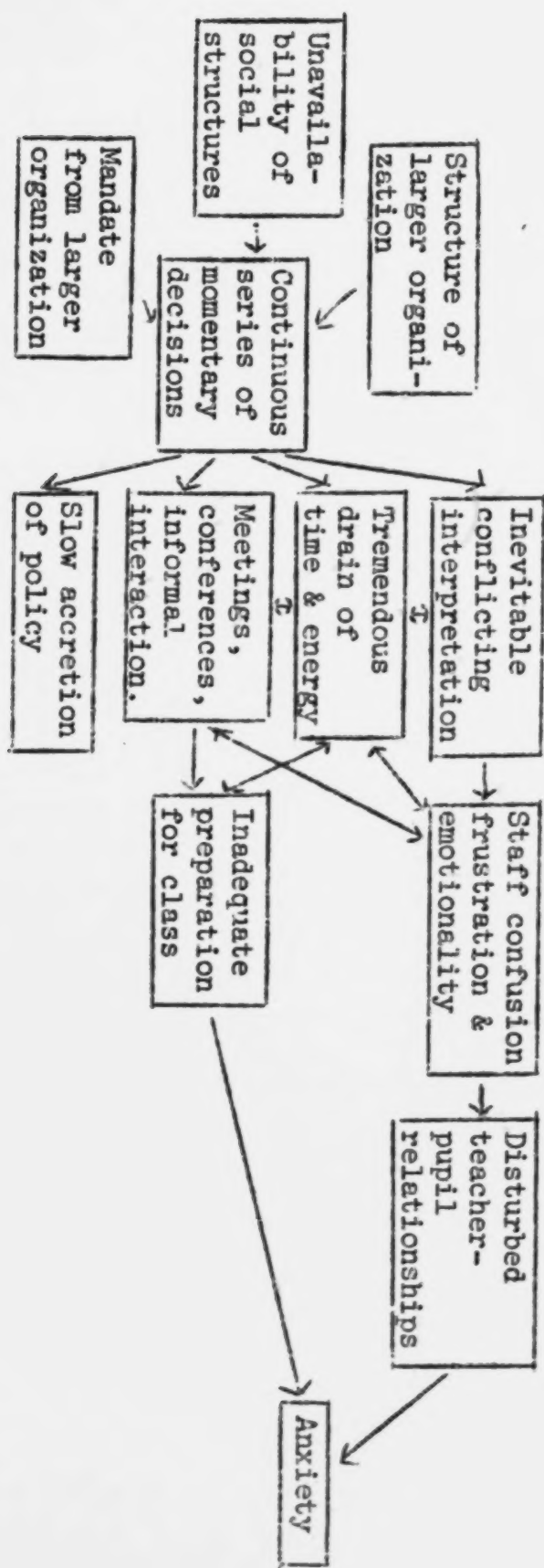


Figure 5.2 Natural history and consequences of lack of social structure within Kensington

Kensington as a particular case

As our earlier description has indicated, the conditions described in Figure 5.2 prevailed. In addition, Kensington had several unique dimensions which intensified the consequences. These aspects can be drawn from our earlier descriptions also. They include 1) the immediate goals themselves, 2) the lack of teaching experience, 3) the newness in many organizational patterns such as team teaching about which few people have intimate and generalizable knowledge, 4) the upside down authority structure (see Chapter 7), 5) the intra-staff conflict and negative sentiment, 6) the more extended activities such as the curriculum committee and the staff research program.

Further, we would hypothesize that the successful operation of an organization which lacks a set of formal procedures is greatly dependent on the use of verbal skills. The style of the team meetings grew from those of the early training sessions. Interpersonal communication was of utmost importance. Analysis of past events, diagnosis of student and faculty problems, reactions to community sentiments, clarification of intermediate and long-range goals, means of attaining objectives, ways to preserve the uniqueness of the school, and a minimum concentration on the "nuts and bolts" of the organization, characterized a typical meeting.

The records of the decision-making process indicate what some of the communication problems may have been. Communication seemed to hinge on at least four levels. The first one could be the theoretical, the second the "nuts and bolts," the third, personal anxiety, and the fourth, interpersonal relations.

Time requirements and demands

The great time demands of a system of this nature is noted earlier. Other than the time spent in instruction and contact with the children during the day, there were numerous meetings, many of which were both long and frequent. There were team, sub-team, and total staff meetings. All of these were in addition to the regular teacher-pupil responsibilities and were not during school hours. It was not unusual for a team meeting to last three and one half to four hours. Parent meetings, the parent-school organization, and the curriculum committee sessions were also attended in some cases by all staff members and in the latter two instances by a part of the faculty.

There were innumerable sources and consequences for what appeared to be the extraordinary amount of time devoted to the school.

Kensington was new with no traditions and norms of its own to look to, find security in or modify. Even more dramatic was that the staff was to develop plans and patterns to follow with little or no help from other less innovative systems. Seldom were Kensington's reference groups functioning elementary school organizations. More usually, university-based scholars or selected "schools of thought" which represented what was to be attempted at Kensington filled the role. In a sense, ideas were their referents rather than schools already in operation. This is doubtless true of anything that is really innovative. However, many aspects of Kensington had been developed and utilized before the attempt to integrate them into an innovative whole in the Milford district.

Thus, with its absence of previously developed norms, procedures, and the attempt to modify what had been viewed earlier by other practitioners

as solutions to procedural and instructional problems, perhaps it is not surprising that "building" the many intangible and agreed-upon ways of doing things required so much time. Even so, it seems worthwhile to point out some of the antecedents and consequences of the pursuit of such a goal.

In essence, the faculty was called upon to formulate the structural program as well as to attend to the administrative details. Tasks such as these are almost prohibitive in terms of the amount of time necessary to do both adequately. Hours and hours of meeting time involved the struggle for decisions as to meeting times and procedures, bus times, allocation and use of supplies, children's behavior, organizational plans and charts, instructional content, and concern as to which decisions were not upheld. Coupled with there being a lack of instructional staff, time demands seemed increased geometrically for the remaining staff both in relation to formulation of the program as well as administering it.

As our earlier description indicated, the four weeks of meetings in August yielded very little in the way of concrete procedural planning for the school year. This, in addition to the beginning of school, placed even greater, concentrated demands on the faculty in September. The kind of decisions that they were faced with then (pupil behavior and procedure) were those that proved difficult throughout the year.

Team teaching, which was set forth as a means to implement the program, required much in the way of total team planning and sub-team preparation. The teams, as is described elsewhere, had to deal with great differences in personal ideologies, difficulties in reaching compromise, and a wide range of teacher competencies. Yet the meetings--long, frustrating, and exhausting as they were--encouraged the development of a strong esprit de corp

among the faculty and an identification with Kensington. Their personal lives became meshed with the growth of the school and other faculty members. The amount of time spent in the building before and after school, in the evenings, and on Saturdays was incredible.

The notes provide various pieces of information as to the reaction of the families of the staff and, in turn, the faculty member's statements about their families. A half dozen of these would include: 1) one member allegedly bought a color TV because of his many nights away; 2) another's wife commented about seldom seeing him and he jokingly responded that he was going to have to get a divorce if he wasn't home more; and 3) other married staff's objections to a lot of evening and weekend meetings because of ill spouses and outside responsibilities in the district and in the larger community.

A number of the faculty were unmarried; they tended to be strong advocates of the philosophy and able to spend some evenings and extra time on academic matters. Initially, they were also very interested in the curriculum committee which met frequently and for several hours at a time. However, as the year progressed even they were less willing to devote large blocks of time to long term and committee meetings. The Saturday staff meetings contributed also to the time pressures.

Thus, the great amount of time spent together provided a kind of socialization to the protected innovative community. It was the team meeting that prepared a ground for the bolstering and perpetuation of idealism, and that helped maintain the goal. Yet, it was the same meeting that had a way of making both persons and systems seem something less than ideal. There also seemed to be an unspoken faith in contact and duration of contact

with the building, with the ideas it represented, and with fellow faculty members. Yet, the believers in this same faith came to realize the millstone-like quality of the exhaustion and frustration that may come without respite from a responsibility and mandate so great as, "Go build a school!"

Insert Figure 5.3 about here

Summary

These events and the accompanying analysis suggest some of the nuances in the building of an institutional core in an educational organization which has an innovative thrust. By focusing on what it means to be without a social structure, one sees clearly a number of problems which administrative theorists and practitioners would do well to anticipate.

Resource Limits: a Major Unanticipated Consequence

Take-off

Early in August, a major problem began to arise. It involved the expense in time, energy, personnel and materials related to beginning a new organization, developing an old organization or maintaining an innovative organization. Essentially, we are saying that organizational change carries heavy demands. If these resources have not been budgeted or if they are unavailable for other reasons, the organization lies in peril. Our first observation stated it this way:

Another item that came up in my discussion with Eugene concerned the lack of administrative assistance that he has. For an elementary school in which the principal

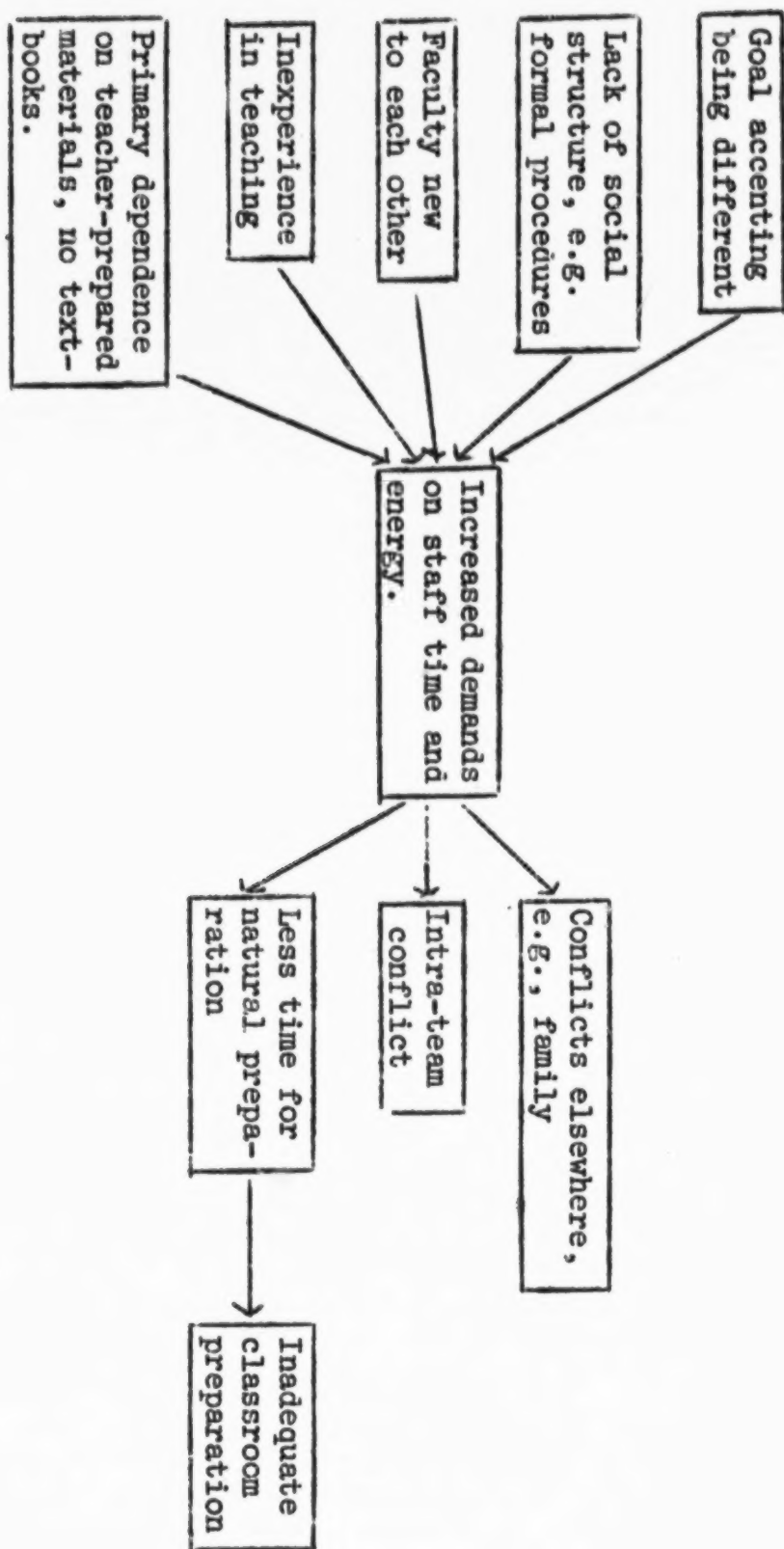


Figure 5.3 Additional aspects in the Kensington case.

just kind of "keeps the wheels turning" and things going as they are, he doesn't really need a lot of assistance. That's an hypothesis. But for an elementary school in which the principal is trying to change a number of things, then it seems to me that he needs someone to help coordinate, someone to communicate, someone to follow through, and someone to carry out the numerous and almost endless little details and chores. Eugene doesn't have anybody to do this, and he is being pushed back into a terrible corner with his other work and with keeping the program moving. This is related to Larry's³ point about having the background of any innovation attempt sufficient budgeted resources to pick up all the slack and all of the difficulties that are bound to arise from unanticipated consequences. Administratively, it seems to me that Kensington school is heading for that kind of problem also. An assistant principal could handle some of this, or it might also be handled with the team leaders playing a much more influential role in this set of tasks. Part of the problem locally may fall around the inability of Eugene to delegate responsibility.

(8/18)

In short, we hypothesize that the phenomenon of organizational change per se requires more resources than usual, and second, that the unanticipated consequences will require an added increment. Finally, we would argue, the Kensington planners did not anticipate to the required degree either of these demands. In this discussion we think we are saying much the same thing as Etzioni (1966) in his use of the concept, "take-off."

The concept of take-off, borrowed from aerodynamics, is applied to the first stage of epigenesis to distinguish the initiation point from where the continuation of the process becomes self-sustained. (p. 38)

As he extends analogy, he speaks of the resources needed for self-maintenance.

The image is one of a plane that first starts its engines and begins rolling, still supported by the runway, until

3. The observer is recalling one item from many highly significant and meaningful conversations with a former colleague, Professor Laurence Iannaccone.

it accumulates enough momentum to 'take-off,' to continue in motion 'on its own,' generating the forces that carry it to higher altitudes and greater speeds. The analogue is that through accumulation, while relying on external support, the necessary condition for autonomous action is produced. (p. 38)

Resource utilization: long and short term

A significant event occurred over the utilization of the Christmas holidays which suggests the broader aspects of the issues in resources. The move to the new building had been completed at all levels. Considerable concern existed about the instructional program. The faculty was tired, frustrated and in considerable conflict. A number had been ill. The majority of the staff elected to take almost a full vacation.⁴

Another item that occurred which seems of some importance is the fact that almost all of the teachers are leaving town for all or most of the holidays. As I talked with them today one of the conversational gambits I utilized was whether they would be here for the holiday. As I went down the list I found that almost all of them will be gone. Eugene will be in Louisiana, John will be in Indiana, Meg is going to Louisiana, Alec, Kay and Claire are going to Wisconsin, Wanda is going to Indiana, Dan and Chris are going to Chicago, and David is going to some friend's house. Many will not be coming back until the weekend just before school starts and many will be leaving beginning tomorrow afternoon. This suggests some substantial problems beginning the new year. At best the planning that they will be able to do will be mostly individual. At worst, it will amount to almost none. (12/22)

Later that same day the notes continue in the same vein.

In talking with Pat about the possibility of when an organization can be shifted dramatically, I raised the points that were on the first part of today's comments.

4. We do not have comparative data on general elementary school staff norms regarding vacations. Our guess would be that most elementary teachers use the time for family events and for catching up on non-school matters.

Almost all of the people will be gone from the city for almost the entire period of the vacation. Some are leaving tomorrow afternoon and some not coming back until Saturday or Sunday the day before school begins. This "fleeing," if it be that, is going to make it almost impossible to plan extensively for the coming months. In the vernacular, this should put them in the soup again all spring. (12/22)

Figure 5.4 depicts these hypotheses, and the dilemma underlying them.

Insert Figure 5.4 about here

The critical importance of time and energy as resources for a social system arose continuously. They possess limits which set parameters on individual behavior and contributions to an organization. As such, they are critical to the analysis of any organization. If our hypotheses are correct, a beginning organization, a changing organization, and an innovative organization put extra heavy demands on these scarce and limited resources.

A Verity: The Everpresent Environment

While our study did not start--nor end--as an investigation of the dynamics of a school district, we were dragged in this direction by events. Our data are much more limited here than in the Kensington School for two reasons. We did not appreciate, at the time, the significance of the events for what would be the final mode of analysis. Second, we had limited manpower. We went to outside meetings and we talked to people in the community because we were curious, because our friends, the Kensington staff, were involved, and because we found this part of the world interesting and exciting as well. Consequently, our discussion of Kensington's

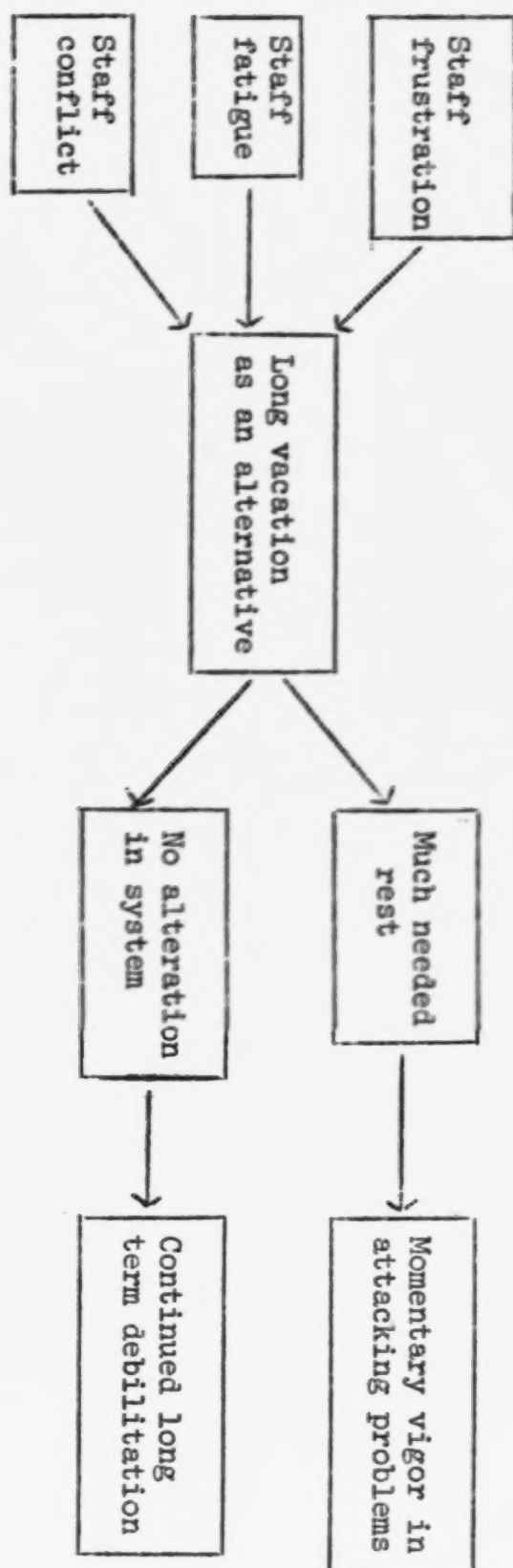


Figure 5.4 Dilemma in the long and short term use of resources.

environment will be brief; our mode of analysis might be sketched in the form of a research proposal, a second year study which occurred to us while we were engaged in the Kensington project per se; this centered on the diffusion of the Kensington point of view and practices throughout the district. Also, if we had had a more sophisticated conception of organizational development, we would have had Selznick's "social base" conception as foresight rather than hindsight and we would have allocated resources and observed more carefully throughout Kensington's environment. Be that as it may, we did learn some things that must enter into a theory of educational organizations.

The basic idea is that the social environment has a number of discriminable parts. Each of these parts is a miniature social system in itself. These systems have interdependencies among themselves as well as with Kensington. In our case, the central office of the Milford Schools, the group of elementary principals, the school board, the district patrons, and the Kensington patrons had significant influence on the school. As we talk of the facade, the relevant publics (parts of the social environment) expand to include the national audience which reads the mass media and the local, state, and national educational establishments.

The divided central office

While evidence of district wide problems occurred all year and in many forms, we saw them dramatically in December.

Eugene told of conflict between himself and Howard. The latter wants to have more to do with the building than Eugene wants him to have. There have been a whole series of incidents. Last summer Eugene happened to be around when the order had to go out for the chairs in the school.

He ordered three sizes and Howard had wanted to order six sizes. It was not clear to me whose decision it really was and apparently it's not clear generally. Eugene made a comment that Steven had changed some over the course of the last six months since August. When I asked him to pin down the change, he mentioned that he was turning many things over to Howard, Adolph, and Calvin. As I see it, the essence of this is that the superintendent is working through the formal, established channels and also may be trying to tighten the total ship in terms of the community problems that he has. For Eugene, this means that the superintendent rides the fence on issues rather than gives him total support for whatever he wants to do. This may mean that there is some equivocation and the two may not be seeing things so congruent any more. Other points of conflict between Howard and Eugene lie in the size of the chairs that will be out in the perception core. Eugene wants them all the same size because the tables are all the same height and Howard wants them of different heights. When I asked Eugene who officially had responsibility for the building and, in effect, when the keys were turned over, he didn't have a clear answer. He made a guess that it was supposed to be his last July when he became principal of the building. The feeling I have is that this is another area in which Steven has not only not been clear in operating through channels but has been vacillating back and forth and that nobody really knows who is responsible for what. Another area of conflict has occurred since the plans were officially set and Howard's committee was dissolved and the more recent evolution of changes in the building. In effect, we have two people for whom the school is "their baby." The system seems rife with conflict.

These points suggest once again that one of the necessary subsequent studies is to look carefully at the total district and the impact that this has upon the particular school building. This general confusion that seems to exist at the district level seems to be transmitted right on down into the Kensington School. Another case in point of the district influence upon the school, in this case what may be some very negative consequences in terms of the program, is the fact that Howard pushed for the move to come early. According to one position, and I heard it on at least one other occasion, Howard had promised the building would be ready by Thanksgiving and he was caught wanting to maintain this and maintain his position with the school board. The pressure was more personal in this sense rather than the need for the junior high facilities. If that were the case, and if

it could have been made open and honest, then they could have moved one of the other divisions first and gotten it settled in that fashion. But when he had to take the rationalization, if it be a rationalization, of the junior high space problem, then it sewed up a whole series of other events that now have come about in a very dramatic and unhappy order.

Another aspect of the lack of clarity in the system generally and in the impact of the district upon the building concerns the fact that Jack perceives his role as science consultant in the district as more significant than Eugene sees it. Eugene says that the district work should be supplementary to total responsibility to the building. Which days Jack is released depends really upon Eugene's beneficence. What it does though is to put the people in ambiguous spots in that Jack has to keep asking for favors which is always a dangerous phenomenon instead of having the right or his due in terms of having days off to work on the district material. As we talked about the flavor of this, it is quite different from what occurred early in the year. As it stands now, this is the recurring problem. (12/10)

In effect, these and other decisions concerning materials, supplies, and money had a pronounced impact on the growth and development of Kensington. Particularly they seem to relate to the concept of the school as a protected subculture and to the reality; perceptions of what Kensington was and should be varied greatly among the district officials. These divergences coupled with those of the staff, which were both more closely involved and intense, proved to be difficult taskmasters for the beginning organization.

The non-unanimous board

While we attended only a few meetings of the school board, these observations were supplemented with conversations and with observations of board members on other occasions. Uniformly, the majority decisions supported the Spanman administration. Uniformly, there was minority opposition

in verbal exchanges, if not in voting. Late in the year as rumors as well as an actuality of Spanman's leave of absence for the coming year occurred, the board began to have significant impact upon Kensington. For instance, the Milford principals' freedom to allocate funds for teacher aides, rather than certified teachers, was disallowed. Kensington suffered most from this controversy.

The elementary principals

In most school districts which we have come to know well, we have been struck by the potency of the group of elementary school principals. In general they seem to form an important reference group for the individual principal. His decisions regarding his building seem to be conditioned by the impact of this group, as well as his own building staff, and his evaluation of his success seems to be set by the norms of this group. To the best of our knowledge no systematic theoretical analysis or empirical data are available on this. In the Milford district such a group of peers existed. Shelby, however, was not a part of this group. They were of the "old guard," and they viewed him as a deviant newcomer. A lack of relationship with such a group means one is off the informal informational grapevine, one does not have a group of equals involved in essentially the same group of problems, e.g., administering a building, with whom to turn for talk and the informal give and take of advice and relevant perspectives.

Also in most districts the principals have a strong policy making function, for they have the intimate contacts with the community through the parents and they are prime channels for the upward flow of information. Similarly, they are the key line officers for implementing the flow of

policy decisions and commands from the superintendent and the central staff. While we have almost no data on these issues, our impressions were a minimization of these forces early in the year and increasing strength later in the year. The dynamics of this, we would guess, would have been an interesting supplement to our analysis. Also, in subsequent years the process of innovation diffusion from Kensington to the other schools would have been fascinating in any district, but even more so if our tentative analysis of Shelby's relationship to the others proved substantially correct.

The Kensington patrons

At a number of points we have indicated aspects of the relationship between Kensington and its patrons. While the nuances were intriguing and fascinating, the story is too long to be presented here. The major dimensions we would accent are 1) a small loyal group who worked with the school throughout the year to help translate the ideals into day to day practices, 2) another small group who were opposed to the ideals in the doctrine and to the correlated practices, who tried to get the school to look like their image of a more traditional elementary school, and 3) a large group of patrons who knew very little about the school and what was happening in its program.

The Milford patrons

The story of the Milford patrons is an amplification of the school board story. In this part of the state, the Milford district has had a history and reputation of conflict. The prior superintendent came and went out of the picture several times before Spanman was selected. The district had grown several times over in size in the last decade. The new arrivals,

lower-middle-class whites, wanted better homes and better schools than they thought they could obtain in a nearby city which was becoming rapidly a Negro ghetto. They projected aspirations for their children which seemed, at times, to be higher than the district wide ability tests and family socio-economic status indicated were feasible. However, our data here were too limited to suggest very intensive analyses and generalizations.

Summary: on being out in front

There's an old story which suggests that the leader of a parade should be out in front of the marching bands and the other members of his entourage; however, if he gets too far out in front, he no longer leads the parade. The group may well be following someone else. This seems particularly applicable to the problems of an innovative school and its general leadership. We caught a taste of this in the early field notes.

I also heard about the in-group or ruling clique or "club," as it is called which exists in the school system. Essentially this is Spanman, Eugene, and Jerl. It also will include most of the Kensington staff ultimately and there may be one or two others. The best illustration apparently of the others would be a former curriculum staff member. In a staff with at least one high school and at least one junior high and maybe more and nine elementary schools this is an awfully small core, it seems to me at this point. It raises some question about the stability of the whole enterprise. It also raises some question in my own mind about a kind of an elitist conception of leadership. They are way out ahead of their school district, of their staff, and of the community. The balance between how much ahead of the parade and how much their strength derives from the group itself that one needs is open to real question here. Some of this came up also as both Jerl and Eugene made comments at another point in the evening about the degree to which the community is informed about what is going on. Apparently there are a number of half-truths circulating about the nature of the school. Essentially these are omission errors rather than commission errors. For instance, they talked some

about the ungraded aspect of the school but talked very little about the almost total permissiveness of the curriculum in social studies and in science. They feel the parents wouldn't understand what they are trying to do. Apparently they have talked among themselves a good bit about how much should be communicated to the parents before the actual operation and opening of the school.

(8/9)

In short, we were raising hypotheses concerning aspects of what Selznick would call the "social base." The educational leadership seemed apart from the district patrons. The core of the leadership seemed small relative to the size of the school organization. The district seemed only partially aware of the changes underway in general in Milford and in particular in Kensington. All this seems to have significance for the probabilities that innovation will be maintained. Figure 5.5 summarizes these hypotheses.

Insert Figure 5.5 about here

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE: COPING WITH UNANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES

Introduction

We make an explicit distinction between organizational development and organizational change in that the former is a special case of the latter. In so doing, we have implicitly cast development into the epigenetic model of social change as described by Etzioni (1966). The new organization has a mandate, a charge as it were, and it has the special problems of "getting started," coming to terms with the several environments, building a social

structure, and facing up to resource limits. The accent is on planned purposive social action. Kensington suggested to us the phenomenon of social change out of control and the potency of a functionalist theory.

This thesis in the analysis of the data from the Kensington School can be stated as "organizational change: the continuous coping with unanticipated consequences." By organizational change, we mean alteration in the structure and functioning of the school during the course of its first year of operation. This presupposes a conceptual scheme containing the elements and their interrelationships which extend the meaning of structure and functioning of organizations. Continuous coping refers to the purposive action taken by the organization to reach its goals. This includes the re-formulation of goals and the problems of survival in the social environment. Unanticipated consequences are those results which occur unknowingly as the organization rationally tries to reach its goals. Typically, these consequences become problems for later coping, purposive action. The contention, or thesis, is that a description of the sequential process will enlighten discussion of educational practice and also that codification of the sets of consequences will enable one to move toward a more elaborated middle range theory of educational organizations than is presently available. In this section we review the literature on unanticipated consequences and extend the conception by reference to our intensive case study of a new educational organization, the Kensington School.

Relevant Literature on Unanticipated Consequences

Merton

Merton presents a suitable starting point for considering this liter-

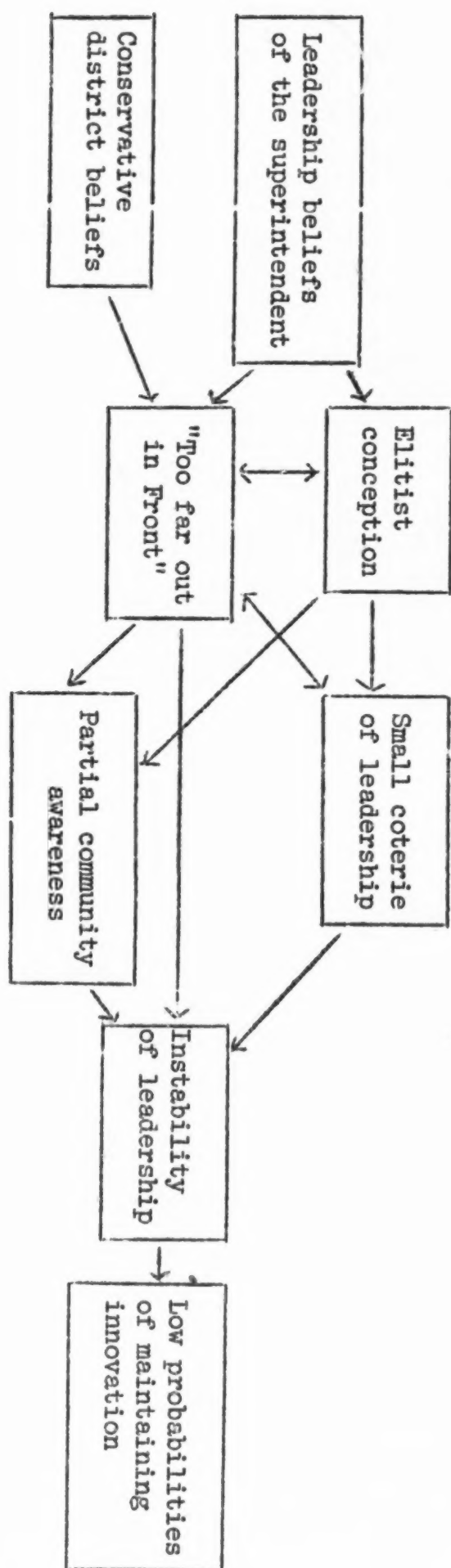


Figure 5.5 Implications of being "too far out in front."

ature. In his early article (1936) he provides several generalizations:

- 1) The concept of unanticipated consequences has occurred in many earlier non-empirical social theories.
- 2) Unforeseen consequences are not always undesirable.
- 3) A number of sources limiting correct anticipation of consequences of action exist; these include (a) lack of scientific knowledge (both theory and empirical data) in the social sciences; (b) individual ignorance of causal relationships; (c) limited time and energy available for eliminating uncertainty; (d) the "imperious immediacy of interest," the domination of the short run and neglect of the long run consequences; (e) the self-fulfilling prophecy, i.e., predictions themselves alter the probabilities of consequences in social behavior.

Merton (1957) expands these ideas of consequences in his more general statement of functional theory. These include such concepts as: 1) multiple consequences, 2) net balance of an aggregate of consequences, 3) functions--observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system, 4) dysfunctions--consequences which lessen the adaptation of a given system, 5) non-functions--irrelevant consequences, 6) manifest functions--objective consequences contributing to adjustment of system which are intended and recognized by the participants, 7) latent functions--those neither intended nor recognized.

This orientation makes clear that the social consequences of phenomena, in addition to their source and composition, are necessary considerations in sociological analysis. From this, the ideas of function and dysfunction allow one to understand better the impact on the social structure of the consequences of phenomena under consideration. Functions are defined as "those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of

the system." Dysfunctions are the observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system. These concepts permit the researcher to ask questions in this study concerning doctrine, facilities, formal and informal groups, as to their consequences and significance for the development of the social structure. As an illustration, team teaching makes possible the utilization of teacher specializations and talents. Given the repeated reorganization and shifting of the Kensington School, the system under consideration, one may ask, "Has team teaching made for adaptation or adjustment of the organization and enabled teacher specialization to become a reality? Has teacher autonomy been lessened by the team approach as some suggest it may be?"

Also, this analysis links the percepts and motives of all or "significant" members of the system and the consequences of individual behavior, group activities, interactions, and so forth for the system. While Merton does not speak to the point, theoretically it seems possible to distinguish between intended and recognized functions and also between manifest functions and manifest dysfunctions (individual sabotage of the system) and latent functions and dysfunctions.

Finally, we would mention Merton's criticism that functional theorists have focused on statics of social structure rather than structural change. As he comments: "The concept of dysfunction, which implies the concept of strain, stress, and tension on the structural level, provides an analytical approach to the study of dynamics and change." (p. 53)

Selznick

Selznick, in TVA and the Grass Roots, makes two important contributions

to the general theory of unanticipated consequences.⁵ First, the organizational analyst is not a "free lance theorist" who engages in a "random search" for implications. Rather,

. . .his frame of reference constrains his view: it is his task to trace such consequences as redound upon the organization in question; that is, such effects as have internal relevance. (p. 254)

The key concept is "internal relevance." Selznick argues by assumption in effect that the theorist has a theory of organizations against which all consequences can be tested out for implications. In short, he puts a focus upon the analysis.

His second major idea centers on what is termed a "commitment."⁶ He defines it this way:

A commitment in social action is an enforced line of action; it refers to decision dictated by the force of circumstance with the result that the free or scientific adjustment of means and ends is effectively limited. (p. 255)

He suggests five kinds of enforced lines of action which tend to generate high frequencies of unanticipated consequences. First, organizational imperatives such as order, discipline, unity, defense, and consent may distort the more rational adjustment of means to ends. For instance, in Kensington, faculty consent in procedural issues took such large blocks of time that hasty lesson and unit preparation often resulted and aspects of the individualized program were not met. Second, the social character of the personnel refers to what we have called more generally, the role of the

5. Substantively in organizational theory, his concepts of cooptation and official doctrine have potency and have gained wide usage.

6. We have other uses for this label, and feel that a more appropriate term might have been chosen by Selznick.

encumbents. Once organizational positions are filled, the personality of the encumbents becomes critical. For instance, the building specifications were drawn before Shelby, the principal, was hired. Once hired, his view of Kensington, the Institutional Plan, became very important. Similarly, we have much to say later about "true belief in an innovative organization." Our intent in that discussion is to indicate that personnel who join an innovative organization such as Kensington often have orientations similar to Hoffer's conception of true believers, and these orientations create important consequences for the organization.

In his third point, institutionalization, Selznick means that procedural decisions become part of the social structure and constrain future decisions. He illustrates this with reference to precedents, to initial acts committing members to a course of action that is irreversible, and to partially analyzed policy which becomes doctrine. Aspects of this general point are taken up in our discussion of Kensington's doctrine and Kensington's attempts to alter procedures which have committed them in ways they soon saw as undesirable. Fourth, the social and cultural environment constrains organizational decisions and organizational life. The strife in the Milford community and within the central office staff in the Milford Schools continually played an important part in Kensington. In his fifth kind of commitment, Selznick refers to "centers of interest," the "subordinate and allied groups whose leaderships come to have a stake in the organizational status quo." At Kensington the delegation of power, an antecedent of centers of interest, was not a simple and straightforward phenomenon. Teams never had formal leaders, yet struggles for power and influence went on through most of the year. What we have called the upside down

authority pattern created a very complex context for the centers of interest aspect of Kensington.

Blau

Blau's most significant contribution to functional theory lies in the thesis of his study, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy. His position states ". . .bureaucratic structures continually create conditions that modify these structures." (p. 9). Essentially he says rational planning and decision making introduce new structures to reach particular goals. These new structures produce unintended consequences, some of which are dysfunctional. The dysfunctional consequences then precipitate new planning, deciding, and acting (implementation of new structures). Herein, he says, lies the key to the analysis of organizational change. Also, our focus sees organizational development as a subcase of change.

Blau argues that Merton's position moves from a correlational (synchronic) approach to a causal (diachronic) approach. He argues also that "functions" must be analyzed in relation to "the values which prevail in the social system under consideration. . . ." (p. 11). Finally, he argues his thesis again, "Functions meet existing needs, whereas dysfunctions generate new needs⁷." (p. 11). The occurrence of new needs have a three-fold potential for the organization: 1) they may persist without solution for long periods of time; 2) they may disappear because of a change in value-orientations; and 3) they may be met with new social structures.

Blau notes that the functional approach helps clarify relationships

7. Needs are conditions, experienced in terms of prevailing values, as necessitating some improvement.

between seemingly disparate observations and the processes of structural change. One may ask of Kensington what the consequences of repeated changes in team statuses and roles appear to be for the system as a whole. What are the intended and unintended consequences of continued use of the doctrine, the tenets and principles surrounding the individualized program, as a mechanism of defense and stability even though the internal structure undergoes rapid change?

Gouldner

Gouldner (1957) presents one of the more recent and systematic statements of unanticipated consequences which he integrates into a more general statement on theory and applied social science. Specifically he notes:

- 1) Such theorists as Marx, Freud and Durkheim all utilized such a concept.
- 2) Unexpected, in the lay vocabulary, is very closely associated with undesirable--although not exclusively.
- 3) A conception of unanticipated consequences frequently implicates functionally one or more actors on the system thereby identifying sources of intervention and change--potential independent variables for the applied social scientist.
- 4) The theory provides a major focus of power (and status) to the social scientist for it suggests non-commonsense predictions and interpretations which the layman would not make for himself.⁸
- 5) Concern with unanticipated consequences turns the applied researcher and consultant back towards general theory.

Finally, Gouldner notes the interest of the applied social scientist

8. Our experience suggests that sophisticated and experienced laymen often will have an "intuitive" feeling that an alternative is not right or appropriate. While they can't explain their reticence, they will become wary of acting in accord with such an alternative.

in the identification of controllable variables is in part reflected in his use of a theory of unanticipated consequences. "It systematically directs attention to factors most likely to be overlooked by laymen, that is, their own behavior and the ways in which it contributes to their own problems."

Barnard

Although seldom discussed in the tradition of unanticipated consequences, Chester Barnard's (1938) thinking clearly intertwines with that tradition. The psychological position underlying his theory of cooperation --and hence his theory of organizations--contains a purposive construct. Human behavior is goal oriented. Relevant to the consequences of human action he says:

The activities incited by desires, impulses, wants--motives --sometimes result in the attainment of the end sought. . . Sometimes they do not so result.

When a specific desired end is attained we shall say that the action is 'effective.' When the unsought consequences of the action are more important than the attainment of the desired end and are dissatisfactory, effective action, we shall say, is 'inefficient.' When the unsought consequences are important or trivial, the action is 'efficient.' Moreover, it sometimes happens that the end sought is not attained, but the unsought consequences satisfy desires or motives not the 'cause' of the action. We shall then regard the action as efficient but not effective. (p. 19)

Briefly, we have developed a figure for combining the intentionality of the action and the quality of the outcome, which gives the full meaning of Barnard's concepts of effectiveness and efficiency.⁹

9. For an earlier use and interpretation of these concepts in educational research see the monograph, "Correlates of classroom functioning." (Smith & Hudgins, 1966).

Insert Figure 5.6 about here

Extensions of the Theory

Although difficulties in using these concepts in empirical research have been noted, we attempt to use Merton's distinction between anticipated and unanticipated consequences and his distinction of the consequences which are functional or dysfunctional for the system. Figure 5.7 indicates some of the aspects of the concept which seem significant.

Insert Figure 5.7 about here

As the table indicates, consequences which are anticipated and functional for the system tend to be congruent with the organizational planning. As an example, team-teaching was planned as a school-wide organizational structure as a means to implementing an individualized program. This approach was both anticipated and has been functional in the development of the Basic Skills team of four members.

Mechanisms can be built in to control those anticipated consequences which are foreseen as dysfunctional. It would seem that certain consequences which appear to be dysfunctional may be anticipated while not necessarily intended as Merton has defined the term. As the Kensington data shows, the problems surrounding movement to and from the cafeteria seem to show such an example. Use of the perception core as a corridor was anticipated to be

		Quality of Outcome	
Intentionality of Outcome		Positive	Negative
	Anticipated	Effective	Ineffective
	Unanticipated	Efficient	Inefficient
	Combination of anticipated and unantici- pated.	Effective and Efficient	Ineffective and Inefficient

Figure 5.6 Barnard's ideas in the context of functional theory.

Further Organizational Modifications Resulting From
Variations in Prior Consequences

	Functional	Dysfunctional
Anticipated	Congruent with plans	Built-in mechanisms to control
Unanticipated	Accepted and/or rationalized as goals after the fact	Located-problem-areas for present and future organizational structures

Figure 5.7 Further organizational modifications resulting from variations in prior consequences.

dysfunctional, and other provisions were made, which in turn had far-reaching ramifications in both the internal and external systems and the environment. Both flexible facilities and a flexible social structure can be seen as facilitating the process of built-in control in mechanisms. For example, by changes in faculty roles, regrouping of pupils, movable walls and furniture, anticipated dysfunctions may be taken into account.

Unanticipated consequences which are functional for the system may be accepted and/or rationalized as goals after the fact. A clear illustration of this will be noted later as it concerns an unanticipated team division resulting from informal group influences.

Consequences which are unanticipated for the actors in the system and which are dysfunctional for the system by definition lead to further difficulties for the specific organization under consideration and lead to future structures. The unanticipated dysfunctions of great variation in teaching method as related to intra-classroom structure and the initial wide range of teacher discretion in decision making serve as examples.

Recognized, intended and wanted consequences

Although Merton refers to both "intended and recognized" aspects of functions, he makes no use of the distinction.

Manifest functions are those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by participants in the system; latent functions, correlatively, being those which are neither intended nor recognized.

The present analysis suggests the distinction is important, i.e., comparable to the distinction between expectation, motivation, and perception in individual psychology.

Although we had begun to tease apart these elements of perceived, intended, and wanted consequences, the full intent of their importance did not strike us until we saw the possibilities of linking the concepts with Chester Barnard's analysis of formal organizations wherein he defined formal organization as the ". . . kind of cooperation among men that is conscious, deliberate, and purposeful." (p. 4). Without too much distortion of meaning this parallelism of adjectives occurs:

perceive = conscious

intended = deliberate

wanted = purposeful

As our data indicate, varying desires or wants existed among Kensington individuals, subgroups, and the organization itself. Similarly, the intent of action and proposed structures varied and also did the perception of the consequences. Future analysis needs to concern itself with such relationships as these.

Consequences for whom or what?

A continuous point of difficulty in functional analysis has been in answering the question--functional for whom? Our initial contention was functional for the organization. Later we began to argue functional in terms of isolatable subgroups and individuals within the organization and its environment. Still later we moved to a conception of functional for a specific purpose of a specific individual or subgroup within the organization. From the point of view of human behavior as purposive we see this as a viable position for a functional behavioral science of sociology or psychology. However, in a more generic sense, we have retreated one step fur-

ther toward a general theory. Now we are more inclined to look for the interrelationships of consequences upon any "item" in the system. This, in turn, has led us to the ultimate in social system theory, the self-contained network of concepts (items) as they bear upon every other concept in the theory. We see this in the axiomatic ideal expressed by Zetterberg (1965). Also this seems to be the intent of Davis' (1959) criticism of functional theory, and his resolution toward a more general sociological theory.

Brief Illustrations of the Mode of Analysis

Material props

As indicated, further analysis is devoted to a study of the manifest and latent functions and dysfunctions of facilities in a school which is strongly oriented to material props as means. The lack of systematic data concerning the role of material props has been noted by Gouldner (1957). Attention is given to the impact of the role of material props on the organizational structure of the school. It seems that Kensington provides a valuable setting in which to assess some of the relationships between building design and facilities, (material culture) and the nonmaterial patterns which develop. Loomis (1962) defines a facility as a means used to attain ends within the system. Parsons presents facilities as:

Those features of the situation, outside the actual actions entailed in the performance of the role itself, which are instrumentally important to the actor in the fulfillment of the expectations concerning his role. . . . Facilities thus are objects of orientation which are actually or potentially of instrumental significance in the fulfillment of role expectations. (1959, p. 199).

In this study we use facility to designate material props; however, Loomis

notes that any distinction between material and nonmaterial or civilization and culture is meaningful only when attention is directed toward its utilization. Utilization when looked at as a process of goal achievement, may disclose much about the system. A study of the utilization of facilities reveals ends and means that otherwise might not be observed. It is a way to focus on change in systems as facilities and their functions change. Both allocation of human capacities and facilities are necessary for the functioning of a social system.

Material props and informal organization

Faculty groups in Kensington had considerable freedom in the delineation, institutionalization, and change of roles in the school. One of our objectives was to ascertain what patterns and considerations were a part of the decision making process as it related to the function or dysfunction of the allocation of facilities. The allocation of institutionalized roles within this school system seemed to be closely tied with the informal group structure which operated within that of the formal organization. The importance of the informal group and its impact on and modification of the organization as a whole has been demonstrated by Roethlisberger and Dickson, Barnard, Selznick and others. The doctrine which granted much "freedom" and the leaderlessness in faculty decision making as to organizational operation would seem to place great emphasis on the informal group's ability to arrive at a formal organizational structure that permitted the system to maintain itself and function in a manner approved by most of its members. A discussion and analysis of the impact of the informal structure on team teaching seeks to point to possible areas of concern to other administrators

undertaking to implement such an organizational plan.

Formal doctrine

A further analysis is devoted to a presentation of some of the functions and dysfunctions of the formal doctrine. Some of the unanticipated consequences and later reformulations are indicated. The following aspects of the doctrine are traced as they develop in the organization and are implemented by faculty and administrators' decisions: 1) doctrine as a medium of socialization and education, e.g., a discussion of the training group sessions and utilization of consultants; 2) defense and presentation of the organization to the external environment; 3) esprit de corps; 4) recruitment of new members; 5) stimulation of creative abilities; 6) guidelines for action. The sources, functions, and constraints of the doctrine of the system are examined. For example, while the doctrine may be functional in the area of self-defense of the organization, it may result in a dilemma as far as providing guidelines for everyday action. An attempt is made to note as an ideology around which an entire educational program is built, whether the doctrine ceases to be a functional guide for action in the organization, or if it moderates the presentation to the environments or continues to enhance the position along similar lines, modifying only behavior within.

Conclusion

Thus, if unanticipated consequences are related to purposive social action, as Merton notes, and if the actor's behavior produces his own problems, as Gouldner suggests, then a change in the actor's behavior may aid

in solving the problem. It is here that the notion of unanticipated consequences would seem to be of value to the practitioner; it identifies independent variables that are more directly accessible to control. One is enabled to see that present dilemmas and constraints are consequences of former decisions. The concept of unanticipated consequences helps to point to significant forces at work in an organization, directs attention to tension and dilemmas, and brings tools of action, alternative means, and ends into perspective.

It seems that by considering the unanticipated consequences of purposive administrative action and both latent and manifest informal group influences one may see how the rational and informal patterns of interaction or belief meet and have implications for one another.

SUMMARY

The developing and changing organization is a most interesting phenomenon to observe. The problems of selecting a social base, building an institutional core, and formalization of procedures were issues which faced Kensington as a beginning organization. As a single case it had a number of idiosyncratic aspects which gave a subtlety and vividness to the phenomena. The resources, the multi-faceted environment, and the absence of a social structure are ways of talking about the same issues. The literature surrounding the conception of unanticipated consequences, functional theory, had high potency for us as interpreters. At this point we encourage the reader to return to Chapters Two, Three, and Four wherein we have described, briefly, development and change at Kensington. The August workshop, the

initial confrontation with the pupils, and the move to the new building accents the potency of the Merton, Selznick, Gouldner, and Blau tradition for the understanding of an educational organization such as the Kensington School. The T-group workshop which was intended to blend so well with the formal doctrine as described in the Institutional Plan seemed to unleash a host of forces, emotionality, interstaff conflict, and altered roles (e.g., training groups for I.S.D. pupils) which were dysfunctional for the organization. As Kensington turned its attention to these, and in effect sought to cope with these unwanted, unintended, and unanticipated consequences, the organization changed. Our brief tracing of the history of the divisions and teams from the early split in Basic Skills into the team of two and the team of four, to the coalition in Transition, and to the multiple changes in I.S.D., culminating in quite varied but nearly totally self-contained classrooms is a story analyzed best in terms of latent and unanticipated consequences. The temporary physical quarters had their impact as did the circumstances surrounding the move to the new building. The timing and logic of the move seemed to have sources elsewhere than in Kensington itself and as the relation of means and ends were so constrained further problems arose.

As we analyze further aspects of Kensington, the more general theory of unanticipated consequences continues to provide an appropriate context. Our substantive concerns of formal doctrine, of issue in administrative behavior and of innovation in the public schools benefits from this more general or "metatheoretical" position.

Chapter Six

Formal Doctrine: Manifestations, Content, Dimensions and Consequences

INTRODUCTION

Sometimes a picture of social reality becomes clearer by stepping back from the concrete images of day to day activities and events and by seeing the larger context into which the particulars fit. One part of this frame of reference is what we have called the "Formal Doctrine."¹ Our analysis proceeds this way. All groups and organizations, in the course of their development, build a point of view of perspective about themselves, their problems, and their environment. These points of view vary in the degree to which they are visionary, conscious, and codified. We have come to use the term formal doctrine to represent the complex combination of a point of view which is visionary, which is highly conscious and which is highly codified. Ideology, a visionary theorizing, might have served about as well although it tends not to emphasize the conscious and codified aspects. The doctrine includes an elaborated system of concepts spelling out the entire structure of means and ends.

At Kensington, a number of events took place which demanded additional labels. These include mandate, institutional plan, and facade. A mandate is the formal charge or directive given by the legitimate authority.

1. This is an adaptation of Selznick's (1949) concept of "official doctrine" which appeared in TVA and the Grass Roots.

In the case of Kensington it is the superintendent's directive.² The Institutional Plan is the particular conception of the doctrine as the principal, Mr. Shelby, had developed it prior to the August workshop. In its most articulate form, it appeared as a mimeographed document entitled Kensington Elementary School: Design for Individualized Instruction. It carried a May date and no indication of authorship.

However, the formal doctrine was codified in three additional major documents: 1) the Educational Specifications for Kensington, 2) a proposal to the Olds Foundation which was written by the curriculum director, and 3) the document from ADI, the Architectural Design Institute, which described Kensington. In general a high degree of consistency existed among these statements; however, each carried the slant of its particular purposes and authors.

An additional and important phrasing of the formal doctrine occurs in what we've called the facade, the formal doctrine as it was presented to the public. Even here further distinctions are required. The "public" is multiple; it includes the parents who are the immediate patrons of the school, the residents of the Milford school district, the broader audience of the sub-communities in the metropolitan area in which Milford exists and to which it compares itself, and also the national community who received images of Kensington through national magazines. In addition, one can discriminate between the lay audience and the professional audience,

2. This might be pursued further in the sense that a superintendent has a mandate from the school board and it in turn from the residents of the community. In the Milford district these two additional linkages contained some complexities.

the latter being the hordes of school personnel who visited the school, heard about the school from the many spokesmen or read about it in the numerous professional articles which have been printed.

Finally, one must speak of individual faculty members' conceptions. The school was many and sometimes different things to individual faculty members. As we shall see, to some it was a reason for being, a total existence; for others it was mainly team teaching, or ungradedness, or individualized instruction. In effect, particular elements were abstracted and focused upon by particular staff members.

This analysis is summarized in Figure 6.1.

Insert Figure 6.1 about here

As one asks oneself the question, why make such distinctions? a number of answers occur. First, the doctrine varied in the world of Kensington. Second, the facade, that part which appeared in the national magazines was often a series of special instances and fond hopes rather than "the way it was." Third, the principal's Institutional Plan was a culmination of considerable personal thought and was the image into which the school was to be made through day to day interaction. It was not to be changed easily. Fourth, the doctrine served to buoy up spirits when the reality flagged. Fifth, the mandate from the superintendent to the faculty, "build a school," was in partial conflict with the principal's Institutional Plan which had many aspects already indicated. Sixth, the individual staff conceptions, in accenting specific elements, often raised issues of conflict with the totality of other specific but different elements which

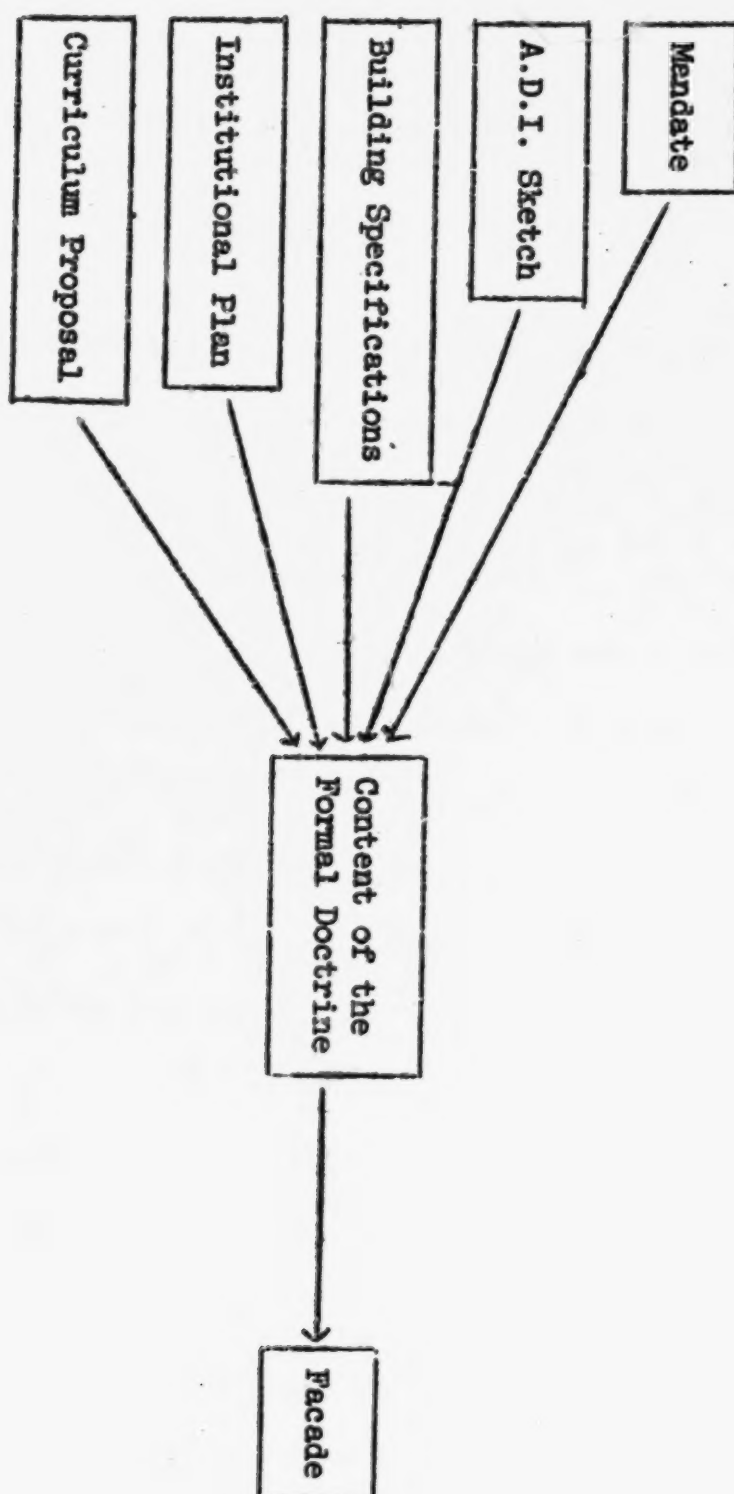


Figure 6.1 Sources and variations of the formal doctrine.

another accented.

Sources, Manifestations, and Content of the Doctrine

The Mandate

In our theoretical analysis the initial mandate, or general set of orders issued to the principal and faculty precedes the formal charter or doctrine and at the same time specifies elements in the doctrine of the Kensington School. The mandate was characterized, as may be noted in the Superintendent's statements, by its long-range goals. The doctrine developed and adopted by the Kensington School was geared somewhat more to immediacy and to effecting a program at the beginning of the term.

Much of the mandate of the district at large was presented by the Superintendent at a total Kensington School faculty meeting on August 18. Some of the points noted below form a major part of the philosophy which was propagated and which performed various functions for the school. The ideas were a part of a five-year plan containing several points.

Curriculum - The curriculum is all experiences while under direction and supervision of the school. It depends on the goals and the kinds of adults we want. For example: we don't necessarily want adults who can name all fifty states, or 36 presidents or who said the prayer in the Continental Congress. We want adults who have developed effective language techniques, life-long habits of continuous learning, and values which guide them as an individual and as a member of society. We need communication and computation skills. Outside this there is no continuity. There is no instructional curriculum. We don't need to teach American

history at fifth grade or individual states at fourth grade. The curriculum is determined by the needs of pupils. We don't need a crutch such as a text. We are looking for ways of organizing curriculum at Kensington School. The faculty will do this. There are no policies, no regulations, no gimmicks for you to use as an excuse. You are to determine it. The faculty is the curriculum.

Methods - 1) individualize, 2) humanize, 3) dramatize, 4) socialize. Under the category of individualize, one must decide how to set objectives, plan, prepare, communicate, and evaluate and in doing these decide whether or not one is operating within the framework of the group or individual. Item two, humanize, refers to getting to know the students and respecting them; included in dramatizing one emphasizes: creativity, divergent thinking and devices for handling wrong answers. Socializing deals with the learning of various roles for working in groups. The past week of group development (i.e., the August T-groups) contributes to this.

Time - (1) The School Day. There should be varied lengths of time in the school day. In the elementary school some should come at 7:00, 8:00, and 9:00 and leave at 2:00, 3:00, and so forth. It is hoped that in the Kensington School, there will be no bell and pupils can come when they want. We hope everyone will not leave at 3:30. (2) The School Year. The twelve-month school year is advocated. The three months vacation has outlived its usefulness. As an example, parents' vacations fit individual wants; they are able to resume their work when they return.

Student ages - Two, three and four year olds should be able to come to and leave the school at varied times. All should not remain in school the same number of years.

Personnel - (1) Teachers. The teachers are to break down walls and become learning consultants rather than the traditional dispensers. (2) Pupils. Instead of classroom units, there will be pupil units. There will not be 18 units of 30 but 550 units. It is to be a completely individualized program.

Facilities - There are to be multilevel materials. The idea of the Kensington School as a protected subculture--"If we are to be change agents, we must develop subcultures." Group norms and pressures influence teachers. "This subculture will protect good teachers from being influenced by group norms." By protecting subcultures, we may help the spread of ideas.

The presentation concluded with a quotation from Adlai Stevenson, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp or else what's a heaven for?" Thus, this was the mandate and framework within which the principal and faculty at Kensington proceeded to formulate their mode of operation. In Roberts, the consultant's words: "This is a very peculiar charge; 'Go start a new school,' not here are the books, go teach."

The Building Specifications

Introduction

Another aspect and source of the doctrine of the Kensington School begins with the "Specs," the Building Specifications. Our intent is an analysis of this document into its social psychological components. From this we can see particularly the interplay of early conceptions and the building structure as these lead to the more general point of view of the school.

The logic of the planning

In the building specifications for the Kensington School, the original rationale is stated straightforwardly: 1) the ultimate goal is to enable all the children of all the people to develop to the limits of their potentiality; 2) the educational program facilitates this; 3) the physical structure facilitates this; 4) the program changes because society changes; 5) the building remains, hence it must be flexible and adaptable. (pp. 1-2)

Objectives are ends of human endeavor. Such a simple statement belies the complexities lying within. In our analysis we were struck by several dimensions of objectives: 1) the ends have a time dimension varying from the present to the distant future; 2) present activities in effect can be classified as sub-goals instrumental to distant goals; 3) goals vary from generality to specificity; 4) activities also can be classified as specific sub-goals; 5) as goals become more concrete and less distal, agreement among individuals and groups of individuals becomes more difficult.

If this analysis is correct then the specification of goals--in time and concreteness--of the original planning group, of the superintendent and of the principal should enable us to move to comparabilities in discussion of the building structure, the program (activities), and the structure of interaction.

General objectives: The general objectives are stated and restated a number of times. The words used vary considerably: 1) "...all the children of all the people to develop to the limits of their potentiality." (p. 2); 2) "...complete living in all phases of life." (p. 10); 3) "...become the architect of his own character." (p. 10); 4) "...self reali-

zation." (p. 10); 5) ". . .development of the child intellectually, socially, emotionally, and physically." (p. 12).

The specific objectives: The unique objectives of the school approach specificity in a statement from the Specifications: "The specific objectives of the educational program are: 1) to promote self realization of the child by developing an inquiring mind; 2) to teach the basic fundamentals of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in the native tongue; 3) to learn the basic concepts of numbers and calculations; 4) to achieve habits of good health and citizenship; 5) to understand the use and influence of science at present and its implications for the future; 6) to develop an appreciation for beauty in art, literature, music and nature; 7) to develop and guide children in the wise use of leisure time; 8) to inculcate an aesthetic appreciation and understanding of our cultural and spiritual values; 9) to develop self-respect and respect for human relationships towards friends, classmates, family, society and its institutions and laws; 10) to take pride in good workmanship and choice of occupation; 11) to be able to assume responsibility and cooperate effectively as a person within a group or society; 12) to develop maturity and insight in making decisions and in interpreting ideas." (pp. 9-10).

Physical facilities

The statement of general and specific objectives must be accompanied by a statement of means which hold high probabilities of reaching the ends. The program of activities, the organizational structure, and the building facilities provide a simple taxonomy for the analysis of means. The most general statement of the building dimension appears in the Specifications:

Consequently, a physical plan which is considerably different from and more comprehensive than the traditional elementary plant is required. (p. 12)

The specific elaboration of this in terms of a taxonomy of facilities (Figure 6.2) does not suggest to us more comprehensiveness or greater difference from most school plant specification.

Insert Figure 6.2 about here

In the analysis of educational space, the most pertinent for our purposes proceeds in this manner:

In developing a design for the general purpose classroom a number of functions which are to be served by this space should be kept in mind. These functions are: 'home base' activities such as pupil accounting, guidance, individual schedule assignment, and storage of clothing; individual formal work; group formal work; individual informal work; and group informal activity. (p. 13)

At this point in the Educational Specifications the analysis of organizational structure ("formal to informal work," individual to group work and the interrelationships between the two) has arisen with mostly implicit relationships to the objectives. There has been no justification of these kinds of structures linking the structure to the objectives. The closest the writers come to explicitness is the following introductory comment:

Educational spaces should be designed for learning rather than for teaching. This is a way of pointing out that many of the things which have been taught in the elementary schools have not been learned. It is also true that much has been learned that no one intended to teach. Some of these latter things such as learning to dislike the school situation, and learning to live in an adult-dominated situation while being exposed to information about democracy, have been all too common. (pp. 12-13).

1. Educational Spaces
 1. General purpose classrooms
 2. Special instructional areas
2. Auxiliary Spaces
3. Special Facilities
4. General Environment

Figure 6.2. Taxonomy of physical facilities.

The special instructional areas include art, music, physical education, large group activity, and the instructional materials center.

Auxiliary facilities, special facilities and general environment do not provide clear discriminations for the present investigators. In general, they seem to involve attention to basic physical needs of the food, clothing, and shelter variety, and include food services, toilet facilities, temperature and lighting control, and so forth. They do provide, however, an occasion for the committee to introduce another general organization variable, "the teaching-learning process."³

Flexibility is a key dimension in the Kensington School specifications. It possesses several different definitions and it is used in several different arguments. The essential ingredient in the definition seems to be ease of change. A flexible building then is a building which can be changed easily. Presumably the changes are instituted in terms of varying purposes. The prospectus speaks of four kinds of flexibility: 1) daily flexibility, 2) frequent flexibility, 3) infrequent flexibility, 4) long range flexibility. The first refers to day-to-day changes residing in such items as movable furniture and equipment and movable walls or partitions. The middle two categories are those which imply change for periods of days or weeks and the latter category implies major and more permanent additions, deletions and alterations.

Daily flexibility becomes critical in the momentary planning by teachers and pupils. As teachers have multiple purposes and as they try to attain them in the same physical locale, then the facility needs to be flex-

3. Didactic instruction seems to be their intent although it is not defined.

ible. Similarly as teachers change their goals, flexible facilities are advantageous. Presumably, a building may have a high degree of one kind of flexibility and a low degree of other kinds.

Social structure

Social structure, in its initial formulation, is primarily an activity structure and an interactional structure. Certain kinds of tasks are carried out and certain relationships exist among the persons involved. The building specifications suggest at several points the nature of the dimensions involved and their presumed interrelationships. We have diagrammed in Figure 6.3 the relationships between general environmental conditions and the social psychological variables of group and individual productivity.

Insert Figure 6.3 about here

In Figure 6.4 we've abstracted the references to other social psychological variables which presumably interrelate with building structure and facilitate the earlier stated goals.

Insert Figure 6.4 about here

The Foundation Proposal

In January, the year before the opening of school, a district-wide proposal of the Milford schools was submitted to the Olds Foundation. Broadly

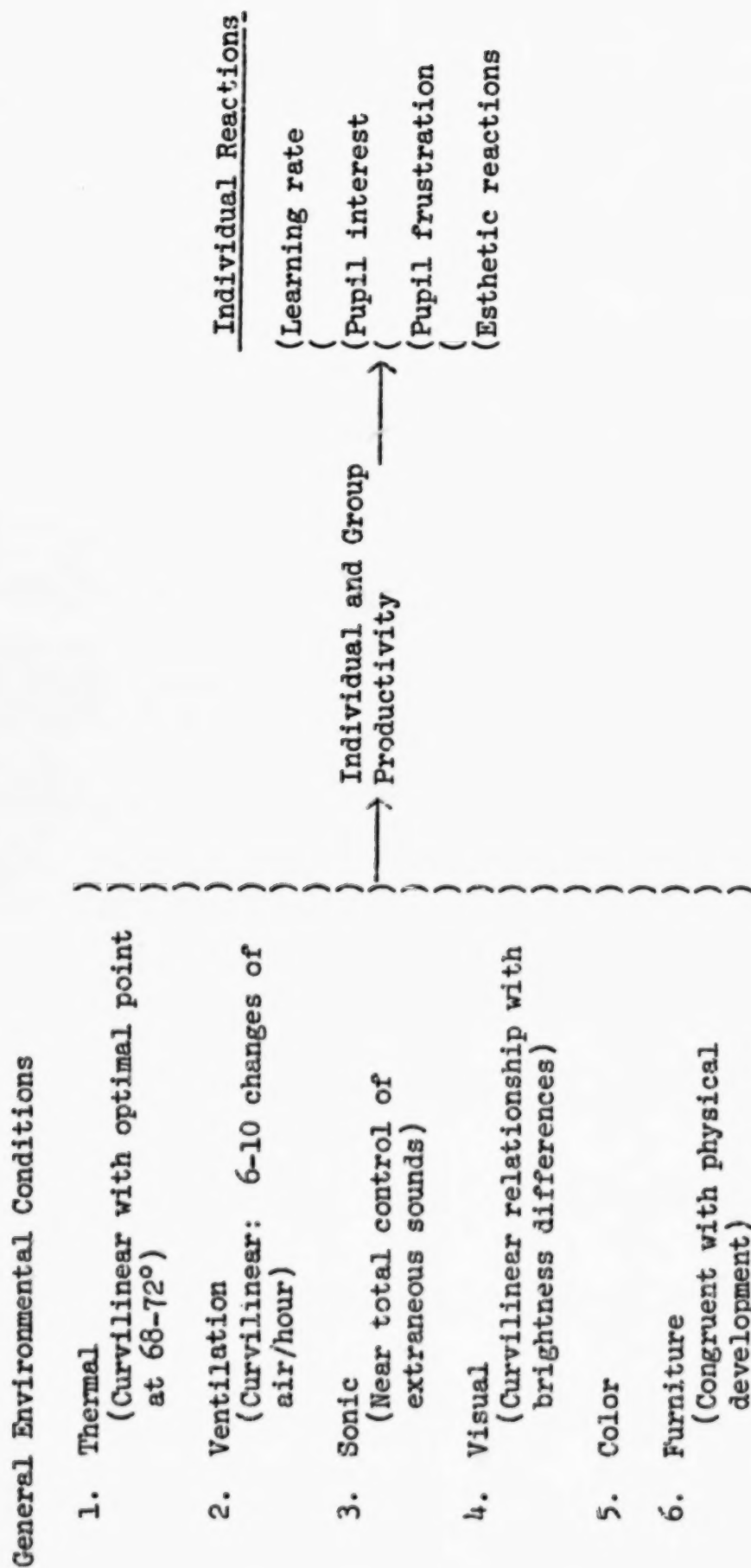


Figure 6.3 Assumed relationships between physical facilities (general environmental conditions) and social psychological variables. (Specifications, pp. 20-27).

1. "Not restricted to the traditional grade lines of K-6" (p. 10).
2. Defining characteristics:
 1. ". . .a program flexible enough to provide for individual differences of pupils."
 2. ". . .schedules arranged according to needs and interests of each pupil."
 3. ". . .guidance of pupils into experiences of successful living."
 4. "Purposes and methods will be shared by pupils and teachers."
 5. "Pupils will carry out projects individually as well as in small groups and large groups."
 6. "Learning assignments will be individualized. . ."
(pp. 10-11)
 7. "The teaching-learning process." (p. 15)

Figure 6.4. Analytical abstraction of "organizational structure" from Educational Specifications.

stated, it was "a comprehensive project for developing a design for learning" to continue for three years. To better understand the development of Kensington's Doctrine it seems well to review briefly the purposes of the proposed project. These included:

1. To reconstruct all areas of content into concepts, skills, and values.
 2. To develop experiences that will implement the learning of concepts, skills and values.
 3. To investigate the changed roles of students and teachers in the school; i.e., to change the relationship of teachers and pupils from one of dependence to one of self-realization.
 4. To decrease the time lag between the theoretical acceptance of proven new developments and working acceptance of new developments in learning experiences.
 5. To develop a comprehensive rationale of criteria necessary to initiate change in an educational enterprise.
- (pp. 10-12)

The project was to be in three stages. In Stage I, Kensington was to be one of two elementary schools with a prototype program. Stage II, as delineated in the proposal, was to continue and apply the program in the middle grades of all elementary schools. During Stage III the program would be established system-wide, K-12.

The A.D.I. Sketch

A potent part of the doctrine, especially as it shades into the facade, is the sketch of the school produced by the Architectural Design Institute. Since its major focus is on the building qua building, we analyzed it earlier in Chapter Four. However, we do need to mention that it was available and part of the ideological milieu in which the Kensington reality developed.

The Institutional Plan

Introduction

The "Institutional Plan" was the design of the school in the mind of the principal. The observers first heard of it in the pre-workshop discussions they had in getting the research underway. The staff became aware during the middle of the T-group week. The summary notes reflected the observer's interpretation at the time.

Eugene's comments about the school really came like a blast at lunch yesterday. His feelings about the "Institutional Plan" and the continual reiteration of this raised skepticism, at least in a few of the people. This I would judge partly by the expressions on their faces and partly by the later comments, for instance, one of the staff's asking about how flexible the Institutional Plan is. I keep getting a very strong image of Eugene as someone who wants to be a democratically oriented school administrator, and yet who has an ego involved idea which he sees as more vital and more real and more ideal than anything else that might be arrived at. In this sense he seems to be a man with more faith in his own idea (which is a very interesting and very exciting one, I think) than in the possibility of this group of people arriving at a better Institutional Plan. Most of this we won't really know about until next week when the individuals start working in their areas and elements of the plan become open for interpretation in the light of very specific things that must be implemented with the pupils. For instance, one staff member has already made some digs, on occasion in the group, about the notion of effective or "fully functioning" children. She equates this conception with a bland adjustment concept and a denial of individual idiosyncrasies. I would guess that other staff also have some special interpretations here.

(8/12)

The ten page statement traced briefly the history of some of the purposes and methods of education in the United States. In this account, interpretations were made that 1) initially, personal instruction was used to prepare limited numbers of children for secondary education. 2) It was at the latter part of the 19th century with the coming of the mass education

philosophy, that group instruction developed. Operating this way, the needs of the individual pupil were subordinated to efficient school administration and organization. 3) In the twentieth century more individualized, flexible programs achieved by grouping based on rate of learning were tried. These were in response to the limitations of the group approach. We note that the principal felt this had recently hampered individualized instruction at the elementary school level.

Attempts which have been made to individualize instruction have concentrated on rate of learning and have failed to take into account the entire teaching-learning situation which includes talents, needs, interests, readiness, backgrounds, and motivation of students, as well as effective instructional materials and methods.

Subjects have been presented in isolation with little or no emphasis upon interrelatedness of areas of instruction. (p. 2)

We present now a resumé of the content of the Institutional Plan of the Kensington School. It is this which was presented to visiting educators, parents, reporters, and other interested persons. Also, as we have indicated, this particular document served as the staff's first contact with the new school's program.

Objectives and assumptions

The general objectives for the elementary school formulated in the plan were these:

1. To assist pupils to become fully-functioning mature human beings.
2. To meet the needs of individual differences by providing a differentiated program (rather than merely a differentiated rate for progressing through a uniform program).
3. To provide skills, the structure, and the understandings which will enable pupils to identify worthwhile goals for themselves, and work independently toward their attainment. (p. 4)

The school's function, according to the plan, was to establish and implement a program which will assist in reaching the goals of objectives. Accordingly, the instructional program was based on two assumptions. A primary assumption was that learning results only from experience. Experience was defined as "what happened within an individual as a consequence of his living in or transacting with his environment." A second assumption was that it is impossible to structure a particular experience; only the environment can be structured in such a way that the desired experience is likely to occur. These assumptions implied that the Kensington School had a two-fold task: decisions must be made as to experiences considered desirable for the pupil, and ways must be located for structuring the learning environment so these experiences are likely to evolve. The pupils at the Kensington School were to take active parts in both of the processes.

There was no one central focus such as textbook-centered, pupil-centered, or teacher-centered; numerous facets of the school shape the learning environment. Learning was viewed as an interactive process that varies from individual to individual. These ideas were a part of the rationale utilized in decision making as it related to curriculum, teacher-pupil roles, the organization of the school, the building and facilities, and the instructional materials.

Curriculum

The Kensington School placed primary emphasis on process development as opposed to content development. What was designated as the "spiral curriculum" in which concepts, skills and values were the central elements aided in this shift in emphasis. The document noted that:

Concepts, skills, and values form the unifying threads around which learning experiences are provided. Referred to as the 'spiral curriculum,' this approach places major emphasis on process development rather than content development. Although ample provision is made for individualization of the curriculum, continuity, sequence, and integration of knowledge are facilitated through the use of curriculum guides which have been developed. Since organization of knowledge really takes place in the mind of the learner, the structure of the curriculum does not determine directly what is learned by pupils, but influences learning indirectly through helping to shape the learning 'milieu' for pupils. (p. 7)

Redefinition of teacher-pupil roles

The document noted that more was involved in accomplishing the objectives of the school than just slicing subject matter in a variety of ways. The contributions of the behavioral sciences to a recognition of vital human forces in the teaching-learning process that are of concern when planning educational programs were cited. Human factors such as motivation, perception, discipline, communication and thinking were designated as important in the acquisition of knowledge as well as in the development of pupils into fully-functioning human beings, which it will be remembered was one of the general objectives. Application of these processes brought about the recognition of a need for a change in teacher-pupil roles and in the organizational climate in which the interaction occurs. Figure 6.5 shows the change in emphasis in teacher-pupil roles.

Insert Figure 6.5 about here

Organization of the Kensington School

Organization of teachers and pupils assumes a different

<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>
passive, reactive pupils	active, initiating pupils
pupil followership	pupil leadership
restriction of pupils	freedom for pupils
external discipline	self-discipline
external motivation	self-motivation
group activities	individual activities
restricting pupil interaction	encouraging pupil interaction
teacher responsibility for teaching	pupil responsibility for learning
teacher planning	teacher-pupil planning
teacher evaluation	teacher-pupil evaluation
teacher as dispenser of knowledge	teacher as catalyst for inquiry
teacher as controller of pupils	teacher as organizer for learning
identical roles for teachers	differentiated roles for teachers
closed, rigid social climate	open, flexible social climate

Figure 6.5. The Institutional Plan's redefinition of teacher-pupil roles.
(p. 8)

perspective when viewed in terms of implementing a new approach to the attainment of refocused objectives. As with all other elements of the school, organization is merely (designed-intended) for the purpose of facilitating the educational program. The appropriateness of the form of organization employed is dependent upon the function of the school. (p. 8)⁴

The doctrine surrounding the organization stresses flexibility. Teacher-pupil organization has as its base "planned flexibility."

Both horizontal and vertical organization of the school are, therefore, designed to provide the framework within which is possible the frequent reorganization of pupils and teachers for meaningful instructional activities. (p. 9)

Vertical organization is seen as referring to the sequence of progression through the school and is closely related to the concept of gradedness. The recognition of sequence has not been a problem in the past; however, the failure to recognize that there are numerous sequences is noted. The Kensington School avoids organizing on the basis of "rigidly defined 'levels'" or six lock step grades. The vertical organization has three basic divisions, and there is opportunity for flexibility within and between divisions. The three divisions, Basic Skills, Transition, and Independent Study, are planned to perform differentiated functions. The organization within, horizontal organization, is also differentiated for maximum effectiveness. Much of this is summarized in Figure 6.6, a summary table from the Institutional Plan.

Insert Figure 6.6 about here

4. The frequent reorganization which became a reality outside the document is examined elsewhere as to its latent and manifest functions when the program became a part of teacher-pupil interaction and confronted the community full-blown for the first time.

KENSINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Function of the Elementary School	Designed to develop the learner as an individual and as a member of society.		
Means of Fulfilling Function	Focus on learning generalization basic to the disciplines and on ways of knowing and thinking. Emphasis on the individual.		
Organizational Structure	Vertical organization consisting of three sequential divisions: Basic Skills, Transition, and Independent Study.		
	BASIC SKILLS DIV.	TRANSITION DIV.	INDEPENDENT STUDY DIV.
Distinctive Function of Division	To provide the basic communication, computation, and social skills essential for acquiring knowledge and developing as mature human beings.	To teach pupils to work within the structure of the school to pursue knowledge independently.	To assist pupils pursue meaningful knowledge about the world in which they live.
Means of Fulfilling Function	Through the utilization of sequential learning activities and materials.	Through developing the classroom group as an effective social system for attaining institutional goals.	Through providing a systematic framework which allows pupils to utilize extensive human and material resources for learning.
Basic Unit of Organization	Classes within the division. (self-contained classrooms)	Small groups within classes within the division.	Individuals within the division.
Organizational Structure of the Division	Vertical (sequential levels), with intra-class flexibility for instruction.	Horizontal, with flexible vertical organization for instruction in skill subjects.	Complete horizontal and vertical flexibility for instruction.
Pupil Progress	Differentiated rates of progress according to individual needs and abilities. Reassignment of pupils within division and to next division whenever appropriate	Provisions for variations in program according to individual needs and abilities. Reassignment of pupils within division and to next division whenever appropriate.	Provision for variations in program according to individual needs and abilities. Reassignment of pupils to secondary school at end of fifth, sixth, or seventh grade.

Figure 6.6 Summary of Kensington's Formal Doctrine (p. 10 of Institutional Plan).

As has been shown, much of the doctrine emphasized the flexibility of both the building and the instructional program. The provision for individual differences of students to the extent of schedules arranged according to the needs and interests of each pupil, which represented the "highly individualized" program, was descriptive of the school.

Individual Schemas

In effect, we have presented already a number of instances of the formal doctrine as individual conceptions, for the mandate reflected the superintendent's position, the foundation request was written primarily by the curriculum director, and the institutional plan was the principal's formal statement of his view of the doctrine. However, the data suggest strongly, as should a reading of the report to this point, that each faculty member held his own view of schema of Kensington. Typically each such schema seemed to be generated out of personal needs, early conversations about the school (especially with Spanman and Shelby) and early documents such as the A.D.I. Sketch. As the faculty convened in August, the individual and common experiences each had seemed to shape the conceptions a step or two further. As the divisions and teams went their individual ways, both geographically and instructionally, individual members were privy to only partial experiences within the totality.⁵ The channels of informal communication were interlocked through living arrangement, e.g., one of the Basic Skills team members lived with an I.S.D. and another lived with a Transition team

5. As we have commented, the research staff similarly had limitations here.

member. While this, and such devices as staff meetings and staff bulletins served communication functions, people saw and heard only limited parts of the totality. The researchers were frequently the object of "What's going on over at. . .?" type of questions. Most of these they attempted to parry with a variety of responses, e.g., "Why? What have you heard?".

Perhaps the most critical outcome for the organization was the inability of a number of the individual conceptions to become merged into a common enough framework, an agreed upon interpretation of the doctrine. Individual and sub-group interpretations of this doctrine were involved as we have reported in the early schism between the two teams in Basic Skills, and in the coalition aspects of Transition and the continuing conflict in I.S.D. regarding differences as to teaching methods, materials, pupil control and staff organization. The staff was verbal and articulate in isolating and elaborating "reasonable but incompatible" individual interpretations of what Kensington should stand for. As these intertwined with other personality variables and episodes in the school's evolving social processes (such as the T-groups) they contributed to the complex puzzle which was Kensington. Such processes are diagrammed in Figure 6.7.

Insert Figure 6.7 about here

Content Summary

In a sense, we are caught between these different but highly overlapping statements. On the one hand they are sources of the formal doctrine,

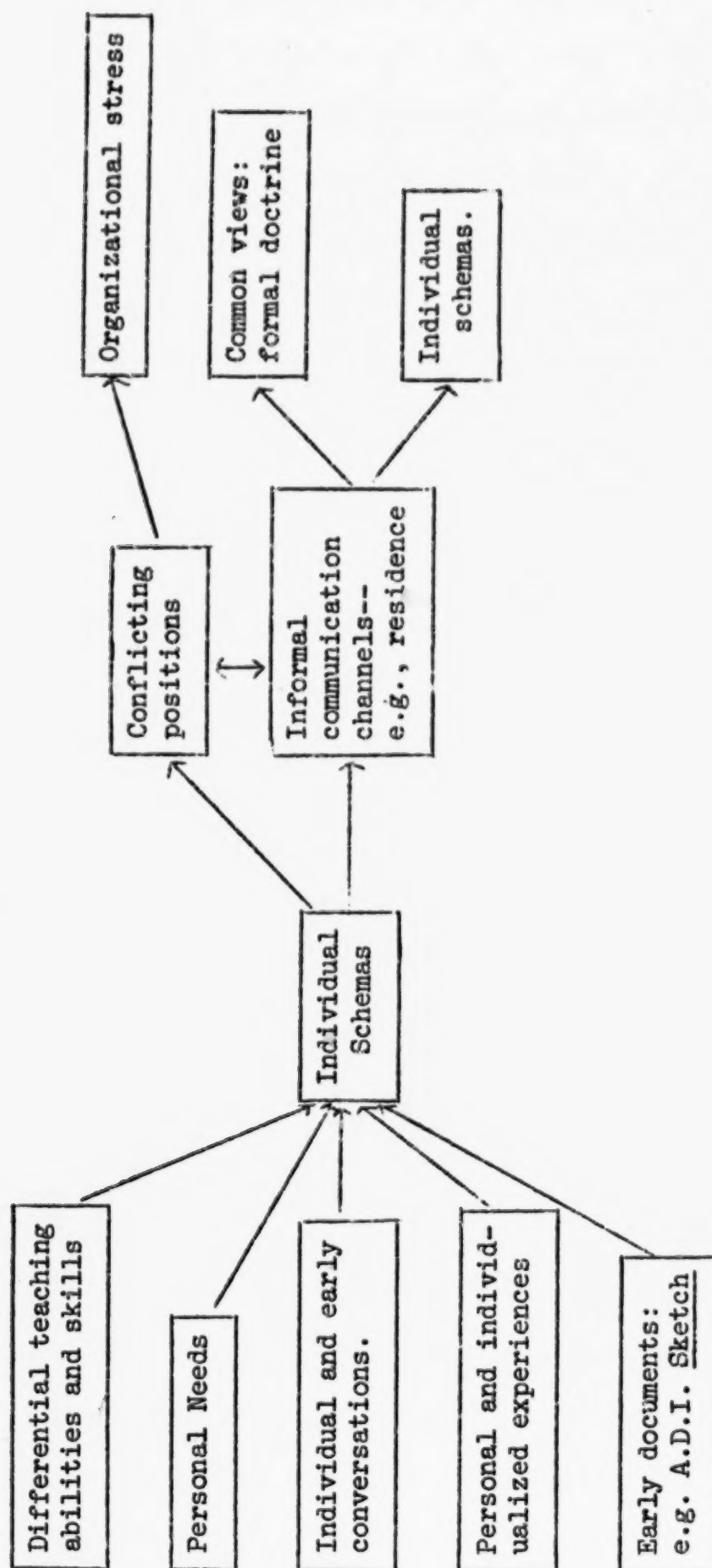


Figure 6.7 Antecedents and consequences of individual faculty schemas of Kensington doctrine.

and on the other hand they are statements of it. In effect, there is no one clear and totally accepted statement of the doctrine. Even more variety occurs as we cite in other parts of our analysis the conceptions of the doctrine as these were held by individual staff members. The elephant is less than an elephant as the five men clutched it in the dark.

STRUCTURAL DIMENSIONS OF THE DOCTRINE

As we analyze the doctrine apart from its substantive content, several structural dimensions seem significant. These include degree of formalization, degree of abstractness, degree of consistency, and degree of affective tone.

Formalization

We have described in some detail the nature and content of the Kensington "point of view," its formal doctrine. As we tried to formulate the conception in terms of a continuum, we found that the rephrasing as formalized doctrine, the degree to which the "point of view" is systematized and codified, seemed significant. Kensington had a high degree of such formalized doctrine. Presumably, some schools have a considerably less articulated doctrine.

The antecedents of this high degree of formalization seem to focus on a number of conditions. First, the fact that the school was new and had an innovative thrust seemed crucial as we looked at our data. Because it was different, it had to explain itself. In trying to explain itself, a formal statement of its point of view developed. The Milford School district also

sought outside funds continuously, e.g., the Architectural Design Institute for resources and the Olds Foundation request for general support. Requests from such sources demand written statements and this enhances the formalization of "what one is trying to do."

Within the Milford leadership, e.g., Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, and the Kensington Principal, a strong desire existed to have an impact on American education. These men, individually and collectively, saw weakness in present day educational practices. They had vivid images of a better mode of operation. Not only did they seek to put these into practice, but also they talked and wrote about their ideas. Such behavior helped to shape a more formalized doctrine. Also, and particularly within the Kensington faculty, Shelby had strong codifying and analytical motivation. He tried to make conscious a wide realm of school activity.

Finally, we saw the community conflict as an important aspect of the move toward a formalized doctrine. The Milford district has had a reputation for many years as a community which has fought over its school program.⁶ Tentatively, we would argue that early attempts at the district level by the superintendent pushed him to verbalize and codify his position. Later, Shelby was forced in this same way by the patrons of the school who wanted to know "what was going on."

These relations have been sketched in Figure 6.8.

6. While we have not pursued this in detail, they have had a record of bond and tax problems and squabbles in firing, rehiring and then retiring Spanman's predecessor.

Insert Figure 6.8 about here

Although he was commenting upon TVA, Selznick seemed to capture the interrelationships among the environmental bases discussed in the preceding chapter, the sources of the doctrine indicated in the present discussion, and the problems of administrative leadership and true belief raised in later analysis, as these were part of Kensington.

This quest for an ideology, for doctrinal nourishment, while general, is uneven. Organizations established in a stable context, with assured futures, do not feel the same urgencies as those born of turmoil and set down to fend for themselves in undefined ways among institutions fearful and resistant. As in individuals, insecurity summons ideological reinforcements. The TVA was particularly susceptible to this kind of insecurity because it was not the spontaneous product of the institutions in its area of operation. (1949, p. 48)

Also, in Figure 6.8 we hypothesize some consequences of a formalized doctrine. It provides a guide to action. It aids in socializing new members. It tells them what the school is all about. Shelby made wide use of his document, the Institutional Plan, during the summer workshop. As the formal doctrine departs from the reality of the organization and is presented to the public it becomes what we have called the facade. This facade becomes a cloak or screen covering the realities of organizational practices. This, too, has some exceedingly important implications. Finally, the doctrine and its counterpart, the facade, has implications in recruiting new staff.

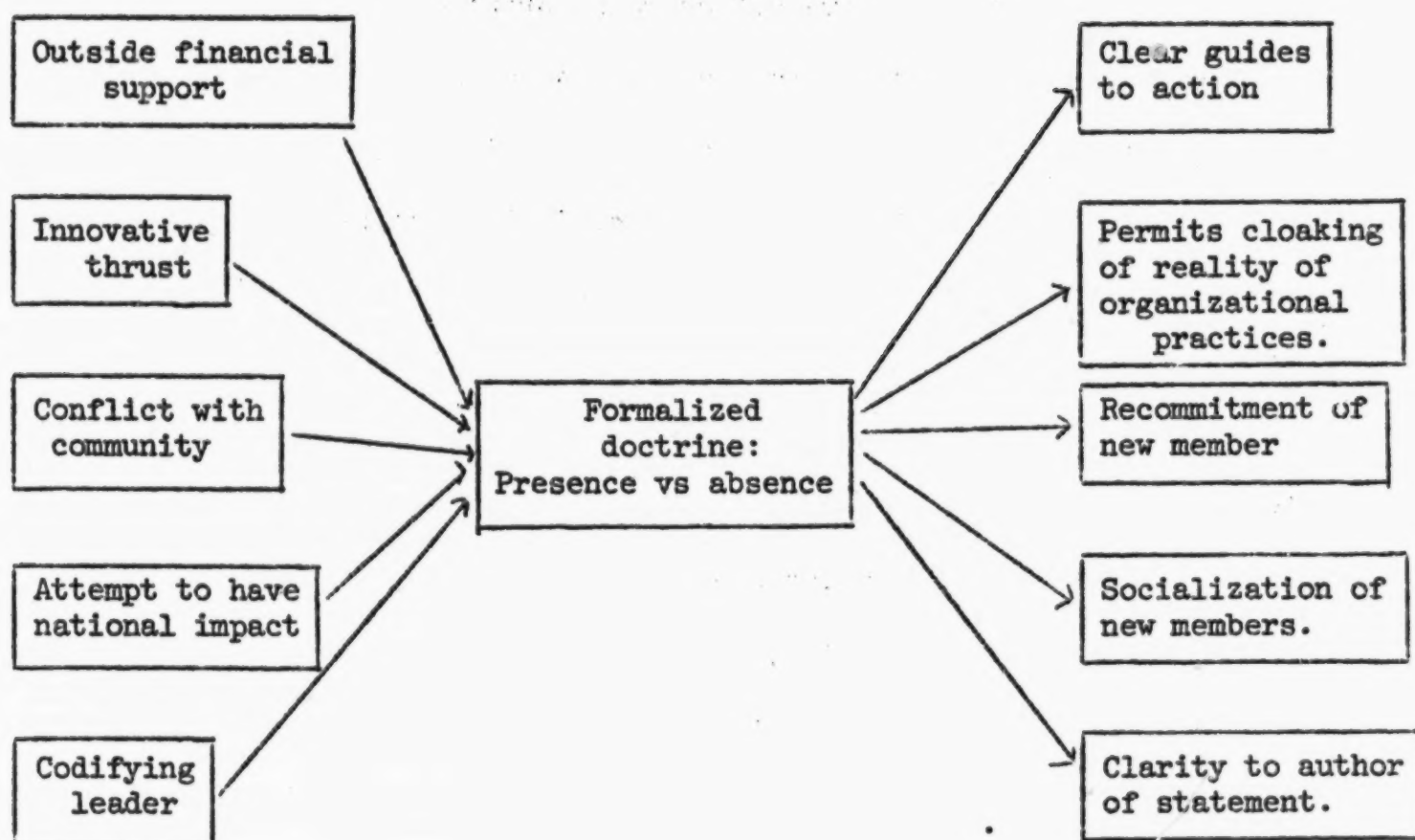


Figure 6.8 Implications of a formalized doctrine.

Affective tone

Doctrines can be analyzed, irrespective of their content, in terms of the degree to which they have affective or propagandistic qualities. Here we would distinguish between the doctrine's goals which necessarily commit the organizations to implicit value systems which, in our judgment, are ultimately acts of faith in endorsing affectively certain ends in life, and the degree to which the doctrine is phrased in terms of emotional appeals which seek to persuade on irrelevant or highly tenacious grounds. Operationally, we presume, one might measure doctrinal documents on this affective tone dimension by engaging in content analysis using as a format the usually described propagandistic emotional appeals.

In the Institutional Plan, the principal's document, the affective tone is present but moderate, at least in comparison to the Architectural Design Institute's (A.D.I.) account. For instance, the former states as a conclusion:

Rather than organizing on the basis of six lock-step grades, or even greater number of rigidly defined 'levels,' as many 'non-graded' schools do, the vertical organization of Kensington Elementary school consists of three basic divisions with ample opportunity for flexibility between and within these divisions. Referred to as the Basic Skills Division, Transition Division, and Independent Study Division. These organizational units are designed to serve differentiated functions. The horizontal organization, or organization within each division, is consequently differentiated for maximum effectiveness. (p. 9)

Similarly, Figure 6.5, the "From-To" diagram, contains a number of affectively oriented educational statements. The document, from A.D.I. contains even more significant attempts to excite the reader.

The initial impact is embodied in the sweep of the building design, spiraling out in a simulated interrogation

point and circling back to for the classical nautilus or caracole shape. Belying its customary association with the long-extinct spiral cephalopods and the slow-moving modern snail, this shape is in fact a prototype of evolutionary progress in educational growth. It is a facility offering facility and speed, mobility and flexibility to a nongraded, organic, fluid approach to inquiry. (p. 2)

The affective tone, especially as we have seen it in the A.D.I. publication and later as the facade appeared, suggested several important cautions to us. First, we have renewed our suspicions of written accounts which seem to strive to excite the reader. Second, we have renewed our concern regarding potential incongruencies between the doctrine in its many forms and the organizational reality lying beneath.

Insert Figure 6.9 about here

Integration

The degree to which the content of the formal doctrine is consistent or integrated seems another dimension worthy of further investigation. Several illustrations proved almost classical in the observations. One of the major goals was individual pupil decision making. A major subgoal was an organizational structure involving team teaching. The experienced teachers reacted frequently and spontaneously that they were able to provide more individual pupil decision making in their self-contained classrooms of prior years than they could in a team where their behavior was contingent on their teaching peers rather than upon their pupils. Relevant excerpts from the field notes appear in several parts of the report, the early descriptive accounts of Kensington (Chapters 2, 3 & 4) and the more systematic analysis

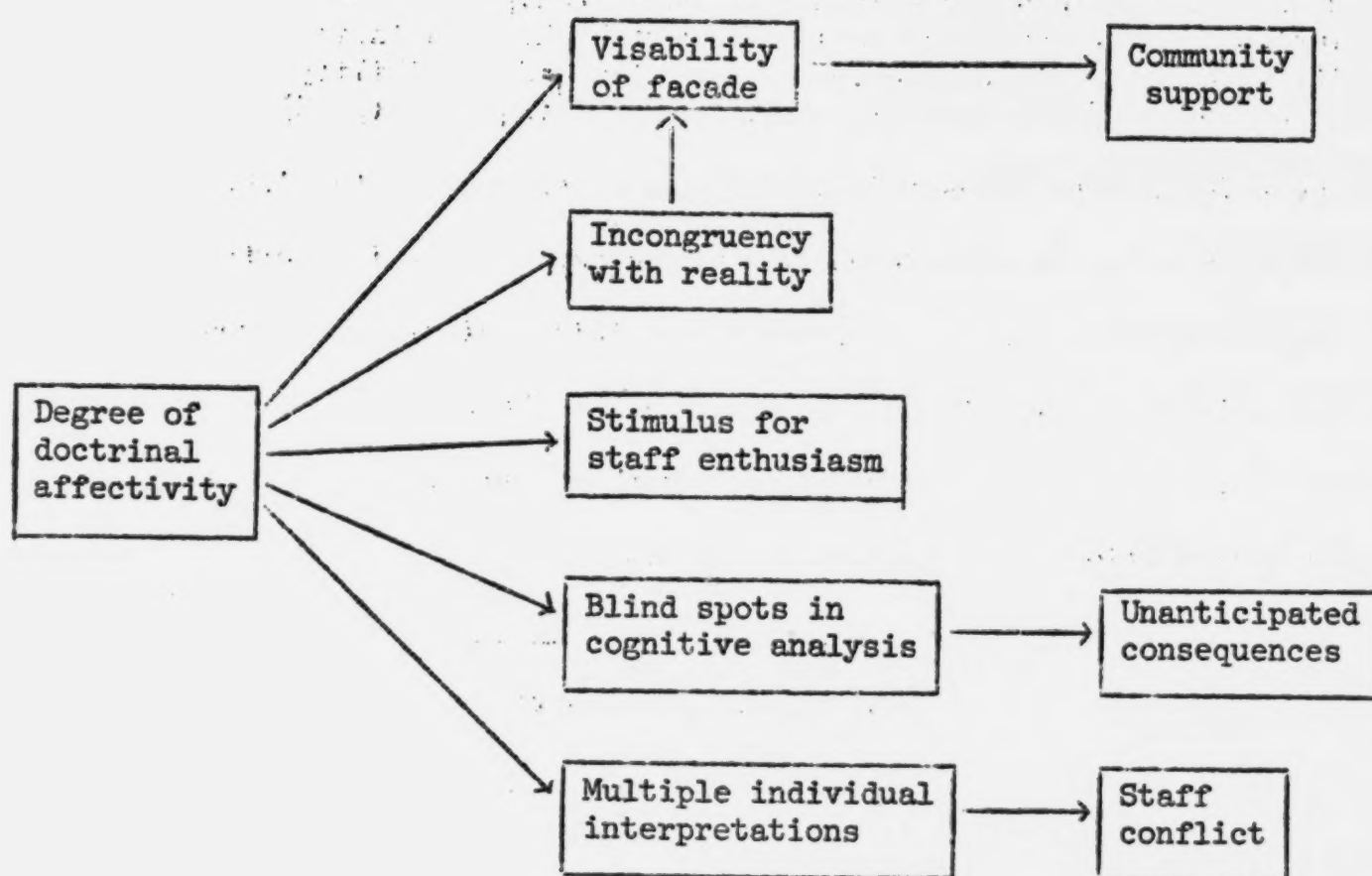


Figure 6.9 Implications of the affective tone dimensions of formal doctrine.

of team teaching in Chapter Eight.

Another illustration of inconsistency within the doctrine appears in the deification of the group and the individual. The doctrine argues for group consensus as an ultimate goal and individual action as an ultimate goal. The issues and the occasions when one was to take precedence over the other, rules about rules or norms about norms, remained a critical problem throughout the year.

In effect, the doctrine was giving simultaneous and incompatible signals or directions to the teachers and provoking conflict within and between them. The staff never did entertain strong analytic attention to this kind of issue.

Insert Figure 6.10 about here

Abstractness

Ideology may vary also in the degree to which it is abstract or concrete. Kensington's doctrine accented the abstract. Issues were treated at a lofty and general level. For instance, explicit concrete definitions of "individualized instruction" and "fully-functioning pupils" did not receive final or agreed upon concrete operational definitions. Individualized instruction could be a carefully guided tutorial experience in which the teacher communicated specific concepts to a single pupil, or it could be a self-selected learning experience engaged in by one or more pupils. As a language system is abstract it permits legitimate but varying concrete interpretations. A doctrine with considerable abstractness hypothetically

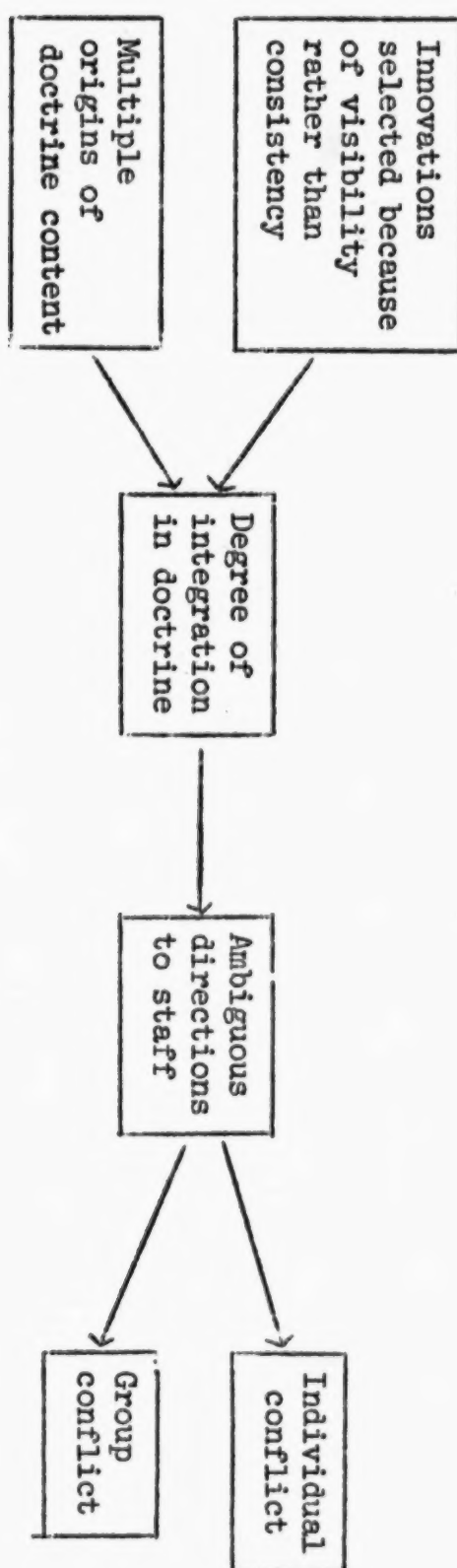


Figure 6.10 Hypotheses surrounding doctrinal integration and consistency.

can provoke a wide range of such interpretations.

Insert Figure 6.11 about here

As we have indicated, Kensington had a further complication here in terms of the individual faculty member styles of problem solving. Early in the summer workshop some members wanted to deal with "nuts and bolts" while others preferred the broader philosophical strategy and tactics. The abstractness of the doctrine seemed to be both cause and effect in enlarging that issue. Similarly, the doctrinal content of teacher power in making decisions and the peculiar quality of educational methods in producing little concrete evidence for effectiveness played into the abstract quality of the doctrine.

Complexity

Doctrines vary in the degree to which they are simple as opposed to complex or complicated. We would hypothesize that increasing intellectual ability and increasing compulsivity of influential group members produce an organizational point of view which has many parts, elements, and nuances. Kensington's doctrine had a number of elements and each element, for instance nature of pupil-teacher interaction, had a series of components listed in great detail as we tabled in Figure 6.5.

Scope

Related to the complexity of the doctrine is the doctrine's pervasiveness or scope, that is, how much of organizational life is covered by the

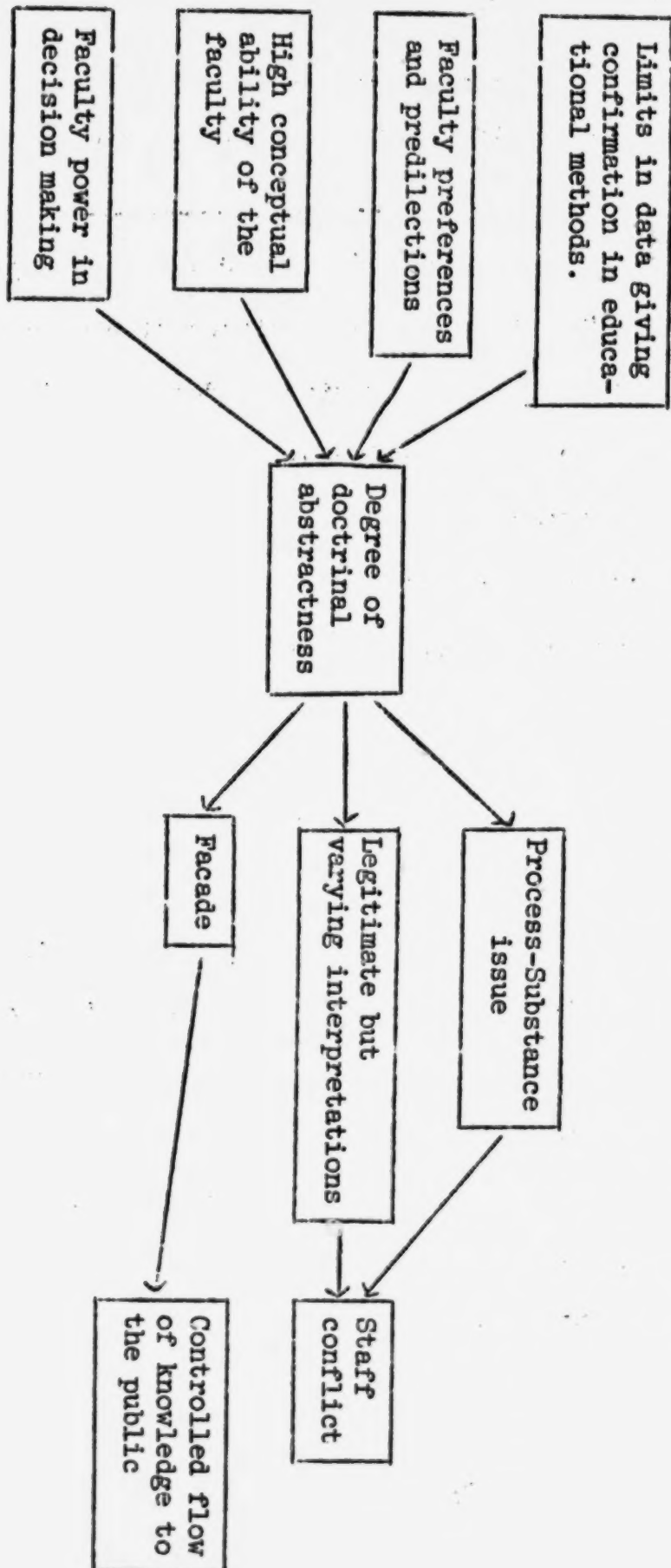


Figure 6.11 Relationships of abstractness dimensions of the formal doctrine.

doctrine. In Kensington's case it was large. Specification in goals covered the total child and specification in procedures covered the whole day and a multitude of ways of behaving--teaming, ungradedness, no textbooks, and so forth.

Flexibility

Flexibility has two kinds of sub-issues connected with it. One of these is the flexibility or rigidity with which individuals hold to the specific content of the doctrine. For instance, early in Kensington's history, the summer workshop, Shelby was most reluctant to depart from the Institutional Plan and to create with the faculty new and different structures. The other sub-issue and the central one for the point concerning flexibility, is the degree of changeableness of the doctrine. For instance, to cloak the point in good and bad words, a doctrine which is unyielding or unchangeable is "rigid" and a doctrine which changes constantly is "overly pliant" or "vacillatory." The "right" amount of changeableness is "flexible." We would hypothesize that doctrines vary in the degree to which they are changeable and this has important consequences for the organization whose social structure and activities are changing rapidly as was that of Kensington.

The issues in the relationship between administrative behavior and the doctrinal flexibility is highlighted in Selznick's comment from TVA and the Grass Roots.

Among the many and pressing responsibilities of leadership, there arises the need to develop a Weltanschauung, a general view of the organization's position and role among its contemporaries. For organizations are not unlike personalities: the search for stability and meaning, for security, is

unremitting. It is a search which seems to find a natural conclusion in the achievement of a set of morally sustaining ideas, ideas which lend support to decisions which must rest on compromise and restraint. Organizations, like men, are at crucial times involved in an attempt to close the gap between what they wish to do and what they can do. It is natural that, in due course, the struggle should be resolved in favor of a reconciliation between the desire and the ability. This new equilibrium may find its formulation and its sustenance in ideas which reflect a softened view of the world. The ethic of revolt, of thoroughgoing change, assumes that human and institutional materials are readily malleable and that disaffection from current modes of thought and patterns of behavior can be long sustained in action. But leadership must heed the danger of strain and disaster as recalcitrance and inertia exert their unceasing pressures; in doing so, it may see wisdom in the avowal of loyalty to prevailing codes and established structures. The choice, indeed, may often lie between adjustment and organizational suicide. (1949, pp. 48-49)

In the Spring of the year, the successes of parts of the program (especially in Basic Skills), the nourishment of enthusiasm through outside attention, and the Milford district-wide attempts for a large scale curriculum project contributed to the heightening of the Curriculum Committees' activity and a return to doctrinal considerations rather than to an expenditure of energy and resources on the day to day programmatic aspects of instructional materials and procedures. Kensington's choice, as it were, was not to change the doctrine.

Uniqueness

Doctrines vary along a dimension of "run-of-the-mill" to uniqueness. As one looks at a number of schools, one can see important variation on this dimension. Kensington ideology was not commonplace; its point of view was unusual in the variety of ways about which we have talked at length already, and which we raise especially in the next chapters. A unique doc-

trine along with other aspects of uniqueness, e.g., the physical structure of the building makes the school visible, attracts a particular kind of staff and so forth.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE DOCTRINE

As with all of our concepts, the models specifying antecedents and consequences indicate multiple hypotheses. These relationships seem viable in our data and we offer them as testable propositions for the realities of other educational organizations. As we developed the analysis it seemed to fall comfortably into the context provided by our general conception of manifest and latent functions and dysfunctions.

Manifest Functions

Guide to action

A formal doctrine contains statements of goals and objectives toward which one strives. Also it contains subgoals to be approached "on the way" toward the more general and ultimate objectives. Similarly, it contains specification of means, alternatives in action, in social structure, in procedures which contain hypothetically high probabilities of attaining the goals. In effect, it is a plan, a guide to individual action and group activity. Kensington's formal doctrine possessed this manifest function. The building was built according to the building specifications. The August workshop was run according to the Institutional Plan. Though school was opened in temporary quarters, the dimensions of the beginning, as we have noted, occurred in terms of divisional and team understanding and interpre-

tation of the doctrine. The doctrine had a potency which could not be denied. The structures fostered by the doctrine often contained a number of dysfunctions, as we have argued in detail at other points in the report.

Group norms

Formal doctrine in its ultimate sense becomes the codified policies and rules of the bureaucracy as stated in manuals of standard operating procedures. Group norms reflect the same kinds of issues, except they usually are the informal statements of "the way we do things around here." The congruence of these two systems has been the subject of a fair amount of research and discussion. Relatively less has been said of the interdependency in the development of each. One of the more graphic illustrations was reported by McGregor and Arensberg and reanalyzed by Homans in the Human Group. As the "electrical equipment company" was analyzed in the latter volume, the formal organizational charts reflected an earlier period in the organization's history while the company norms reflected the issues of a number of years of survival during difficult and complex environmental shifts (e.g., the economic depression of the 1930's). The authors as consultants argued for a reshaping of the doctrine to fit the current norms and procedural activities.

At Kensington, we have the exciting case of multiple statements of the doctrine prior to the interaction of the staff and students who would be the encumbents of the organization. These statements, and especially the Institutional Plan, and the forcefulness of the principal, as author of the Plan and as the central and most powerful member of the staff, provided the basic framework in which norms were to develop. The issues in the doctrine

were the issues with which the faculty struggled throughout the year.

In Jackson's (1960) terms, norms did not crystallize within the staff. Staff turnover was at a high rate even before the end of the first year, e.g., Kirkham was replaced and Larsen, his replacement, was temporary; Linda joined the I.S.D. staff at mid-year; Jack became ill in the Spring and was replaced for several months by Lee, a long term substitute; Elaine was married mid-year and left in the spring; Sarah took her place. The conflict and interpersonal difficulties contributed heavily to this lack of norm crystallization. Some subgroups did work well together and friendship groups developed also. These tended to give a picture of norm ambiguity, a special case of low crystallization.

Latent Dysfunctions

Cloaking of organizational realities

A well-codified and an abstract doctrine has a number of functions. One of these is the cloaking of organizational realities.⁷ In this usage we would argue that every organization to some degree masks its internal functioning to its public. We hypothesize that the more formalized the doctrine becomes and the more internal problems that exist, the greater the degree of masking that will occur. By internal problems we mean, at Kensington, the severe staff conflict, especially in the Independent Study Division, and the difficulties the divisions had in implementing the program as

7. This point is essentially Selznick's (1949). Corroboration in the Kensington case extends the generality of the argument.

defined initially. Additional impetus to the cloaking of activities was the continuous "battle" with at least a minority of vocal parents and district residents whose biases about education were in conflict with one or more elements of the program.

As consequences, inaccuracies in perception of the realities of the school and parental frustration developed. This, in turn, prevented the building of long term support for the school as well as for the district leadership. These implications are diagrammed in Figure 6.12.

Insert Figure 6.12 about here

Self-deception

At least since the Freudian revolution, language systems have been seen as possible vehicles for self-deception rationalizations. An ideology or group belief with its concomitant social support possesses increased strength to carry out such consequences as self-deception.

In his trenchant style, Hoffer (1951) draws the picture of the extreme condition in the relation of doctrine to self-deception.

All active mass movements strive, therefore, to interpose a fact proof screen between the faithful and the realities of the world. They do this by claiming that the ultimate and absolute truth is already embodied in their doctrine and that there is no truth or certitude outside it. The facts on which the true believer bases his conclusions must not be derived from his experience or observation but from holy writ. (p. 75)

The modal member of Kensington was not this extreme, although some individual staff members were. As we analyze in detail later in the discussion entitled "On true belief in an innovative organization," Kensington did

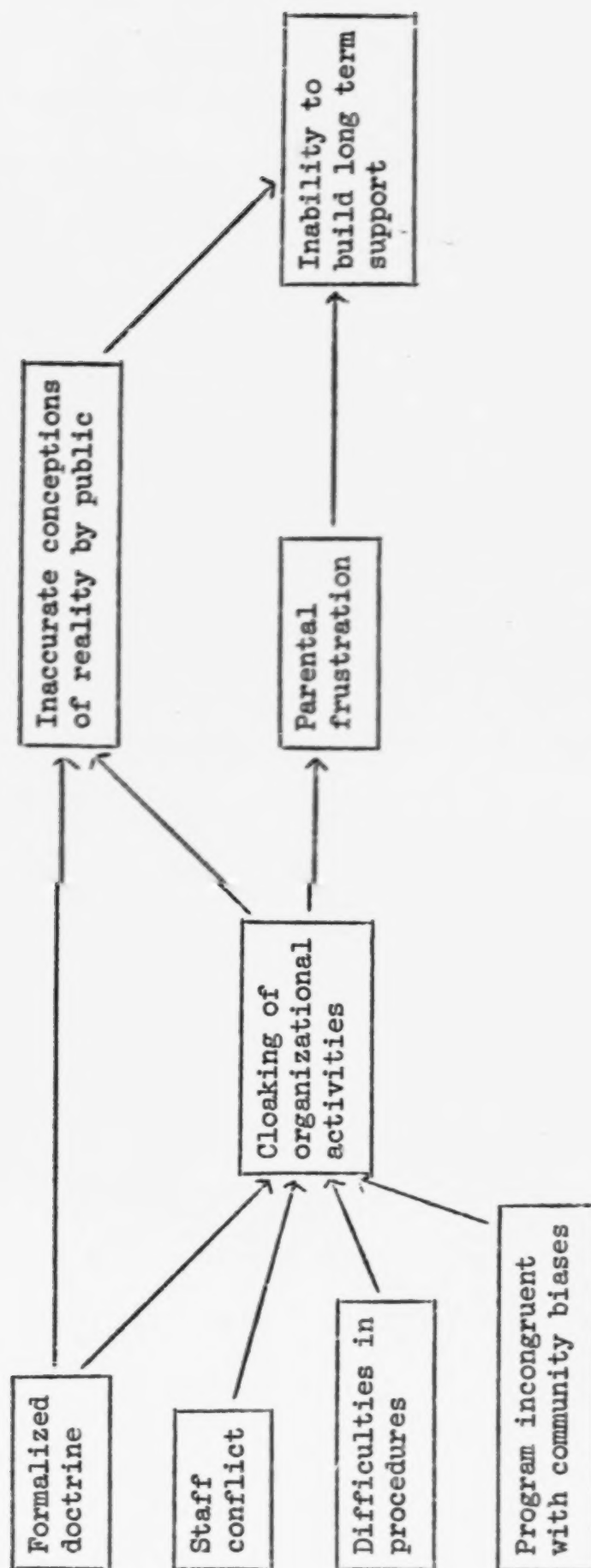


Figure 6.12 Antecedents and consequences of cloaking organizational activities.

have such a quality to it. The formal doctrine seems to contribute to the masking of reality to the members of the system.

In retrospect, as we reflect upon the party described in the introductory epilogue, a number of the elements described in Festinger et al. When Prophecy Fails seem to have occurred at Kensington. Strong belief, commitment in action, specific implementation or ties to the real world, disconfirmations, and social support were critical elements. For at least a minority of the staff,⁸ witness comments by John and Jean in Chapter One, the phenomenon described by Festinger occurred.

The Facade: Functions and Dysfunctions

The events which determine major aspects of an organization's social structure vary in the degree to which they begin as fortuitous and mundane conditions. Also they vary in the degree to which they are outside the immediate control of the participants in the system. The dislodged pebble which cumulates into an avalanche is not a bad analogy. One piece of the facade, a public face of Kensington, relates to the Daily Star's cover story. Another piece lies in the hundreds of visitors who spent part of a day in the building. Just before Christmas the data were these:

The day, generally, has been an interesting one. A Daily Star news reporter was nosing around to get information for a Sunday supplement feature story for some time in January. The photographer will be here the first week in

8. At this point in time, the numbers are not easy to ascertain informally. Post-experimental Year II contacts, as this report is being written, suggest that this could be a majority phenomenon.

January. It will be interesting to see what comes of this in terms of the public image of the school as opposed to the more personal, private day-to-day image that we have been developing. Eugene also was showing around some friends of his who are school people in Canada. Today's bulletin carried with it also a statement about observers in this school and the need to plan for these people and schedule them. I'm struck by the facade that they must see on these one day shots. I quizzed the reporter as to the genesis of the story and apparently the Sunday supplement news editor lives in this part of town and has seen and been familiar with the development of the building and thought it might be a good idea. It apparently was as informal as that. He commented also that they have a difficult time getting newsworthy and particularly photography-worthy articles on schools and this one is especially appropriate for that.

(12/23)

As we use the concept, facade refers to the image that the school presents to the several publics. Kensington was a highly visible school. Prior to our study, the board hired a superintendent who was articulate and bright, a "comer," to use a colloquial phrase. He held strong interests in developing in the Milford School District a unique, novel, and ultra contemporary educational program. Kensington was a major part of this. Through the consultants at A.D.I. and their publications the school attained an initial visibility. Thus, the first image of the school was projected. As this attracted increased attention, further aspects of the formal doctrine were needed, were available and were utilized to present the image of the school. As awards were won for architectural design, popular news media began to describe the program which was equally unique. The process spiraled.

Theoretically, the uniqueness of the physical structure of the building and the superintendent's intentions for national leadership by Milford created an initial visibility. With this visibility came increased atten-

tion and the need for a codified point of view, the formal doctrine. However, as our descriptive materials will indicate, the day to day functioning reality was not totally congruent with the doctrine. This led to the special "public face" which centered on intentions, "what we are trying to do" and special atypical concrete instances which illustrated these intentions.

The facade produced many important outcomes. On the one hand the local and national acclaim was a hearty stimulant to flagging spirits. The newspaper and magazine accounts brought commentary about "our school" from parents, relatives, and friends. The complex process of social approval and identity development for the individual staff member in relationship to his occupation of teaching seemed highly significant. The energizing aspect was noted early in January:

Today was the day that the Daily Star photographer was out in the Milford school district and at Kensington. How much he was a "causal agent" I don't know and how much resides in the fact that I observed the Basic Skills team of 4, but today the school looked and operated much more like a thriving, ongoing enterprise. As I walked in I noted that the bicycles were being put over on the side where the kids had been instructed to put them. The play area had been hosed down and was relatively clean and the heaters, except for two or three were all working. The perception core was full of busy kids who were reading, working on reports, and active in this regard rather than fussing with the models and playing with games. The language arts program in the Basic Skills team moved readily, easily, and with a real flair as well as seemingly with important learning outcomes for the children. As I walked out of the building, John had his mats on the stage of the play area and the kids were tumbling and were doing exercises. The photographer was taking pictures of the children with the colorful backdrop of the wall behind the staging area. Perhaps the school was just putting its best foot forward for the visitors and the photographer. Be that as it may, when the best foot forward is so put, it is a very good one. (1/6)

By the cloaking of organizational realities, we have reference to a biased or partial picture of the organization. The field notes contained refer-

ences to National Weekly's article on the school. The journalist spent a week in the school in January and the feature article appeared in early summer.

As I read the article I am struck by a feeling I had in earlier public presentations: while most of the material in the article is true, there is an erroneous conception developed through the lack of what is said. For instance, the title of the article reads "A school where children teach themselves." Without question, in some parts of ISD a number of children are engaged in such activities and are teaching themselves. This seems particularly true in David's and Linda's rooms. This is most certainly not true in the Basic Skills, in Transition, and in at least half of ISD. Similarly, the sub-heading of the article: "Strange things happen within this strange looking building. With teachers only leading the way, kids from 6 to 12 decide whether to do advanced math, study the philosophy of communism, or measure the diameter of the sun. Best of all, says the school, they are learning how to learn." Without question, there has been some election of math, although one would need to define carefully "advanced," if this were to be applicable. Also without question, some of the children studied the philosophy of communism. And I imagine some of them discussed measuring the diameter of the sun, although I have no direct recollection of this. The majority of the children did not do any one of these three things. Of the major options which the author did not suggest and many of the pupils elected were spending considerable time working with the tape recorders, playing with the art supplies, and passing the time of day.

(6/24)

Other critical comments we would make on the public image are inadequate discriminations between intention and reality in the program, isolation of atypical teachers who were not representative of the majority, and inadequate normative data to make comparisons of such items as frequency of discipline problems. Hypotheses concerning the sources and consequences of the facade are presented in Figure 6.13. Elements in the diagram, e.g., formal doctrine, must be integrated with prior discussion for additional antecedents and implications.

Insert: Figure 6.13 about here

Conclusion

To complement our observations and analysis we present a brief summary of Selznick's position on "official doctrine" as he saw it in his study of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Insert Figure 6.14 about here

This discussion we have codified in Figure 6.14. Such a model indicates similarities across organizations and is suggestive for a more extended comparative organizational theory.

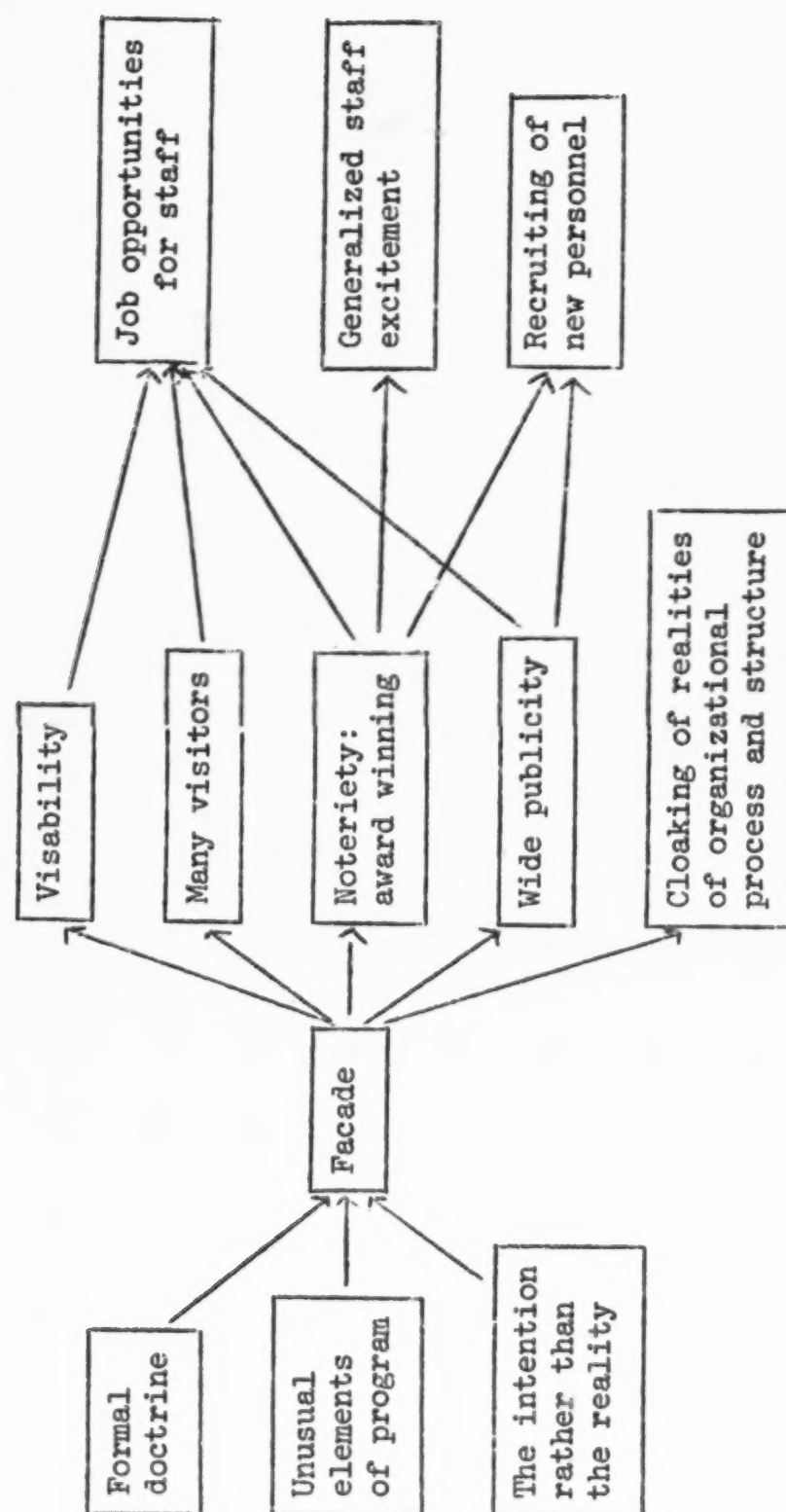


Figure 6.13 Implications of the facade.

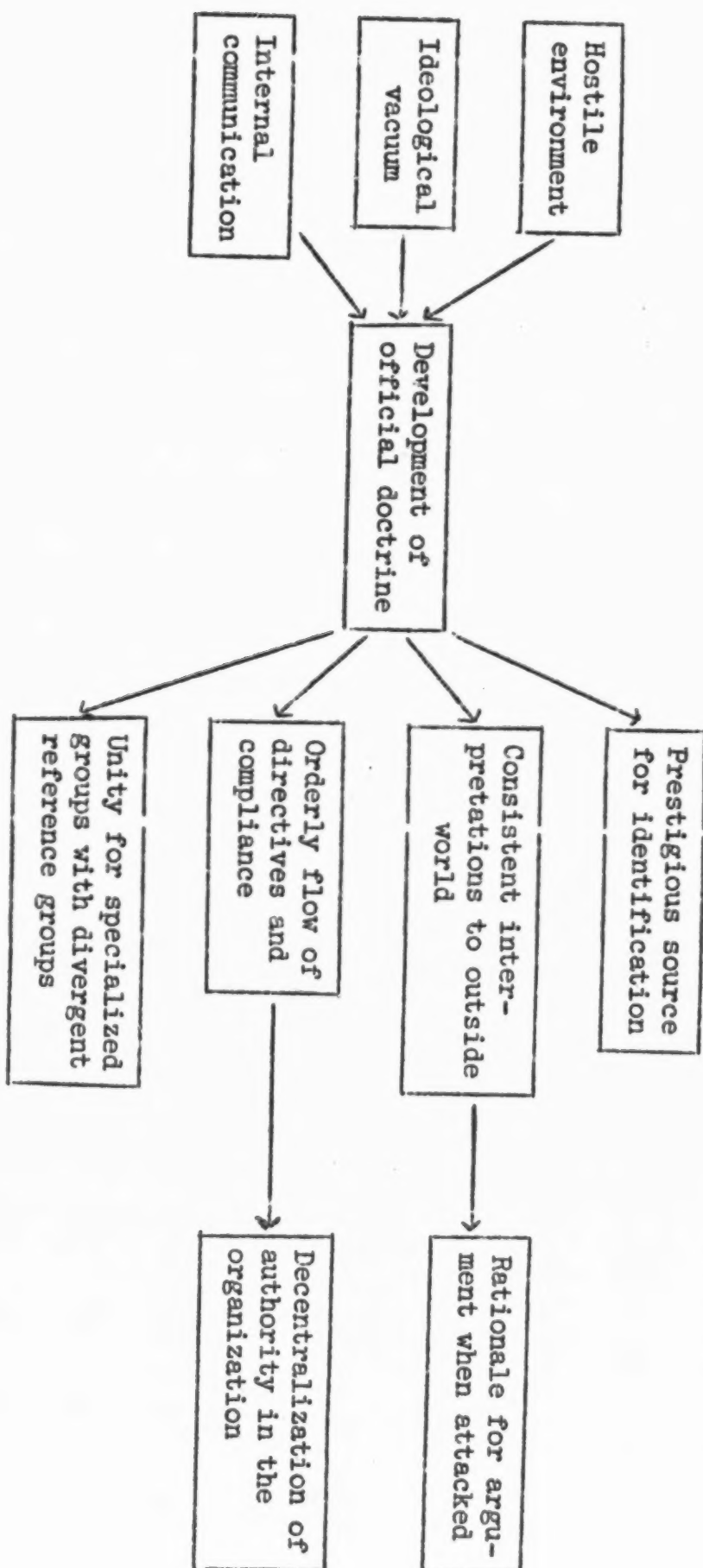


Figure 6.14 A model clarifying Selznick's reasoning concerning TVA's official doctrine (pp. 47-52).

Chapter Seven

Issues in a Middle Range Theory of Educational Administration

AN INTRODUCTORY CASE

The social science literature presents only a few careful descriptive and analytical accounts of administrators in action. Perhaps the most exciting of these is Argyris' Executive leadership. As in all case studies, the particular situation in which the administrator operates is a very critical part of the story. This particularistic quality demands that numerous such investigations be carried out and collated if case studies are to have value for a more sophisticated theory of administration. The reader will recall Argyris' executive coming into a company where survival was a real and serious issue, at least in the view of the central administration, for the company was losing money to a severe degree. While some phases of worker morale were high, the supervisory personnel were so demoralized that many of the people in the organization preferred not to be promoted to supervisors. Argyris suggests that these positions had been "undermined" because workers had direct access to the former administrator and the intermediary supervisors were effectively by-passed. In this earlier era, the organization

. . . was administered loosely by a benevolent, kindhearted man. He administered the organization like a 'corner drug store' to quote one of the employees. (p. xii).

In his account of the new regime, Argyris neatly describes the administrative process from three points of view: The "neutral" outsider or researcher's position, the private and internal world of the leader

himself and third, the viewpoint of the supervisors, that group of first line and middle management supervisors whom the leader set out to bolster and to support as key elements in his chain of command. In this particular case, the behavioral picture emerges of an executive who constantly interacts, vigorously commands, lives as though he were totally organization centered, treats his subordinates (the supervisors) in a highly individualized style, emphasizes the present, and sets realistic goals. The subjective picture indicates that the leader saw himself as bold, firm, hard working, and ambitious. He wanted a supervisory staff that was close to him and respected by their subordinates. The consequences of this kind of administration were multiple and varied. Production was high. Tension was high also. Most of the supervisors were not conscious of the source of the tension and viewed "the boss" as an excellent leader, "one of the best in the business." Many held ambivalent personal feelings toward him. The supervisors were highly dependent on the leader. The flow of information upward was highly selective. Cooperation among supervisors was minimal; however, hostility was not present. While many of the men hunted and fished together, Argyris did not see intimacy or close personal friendships. Finally, as the plant became profitable and as the supervisors behaved the way the leader wanted, the leader's behavior began to shift.

Our purposes in presenting this brief synopsis of Argyris' study is to indicate: 1) the need for a multitude of concrete cases analyzing the administrative process; 2) images of the varied situations in which administrative behavior takes place; 3) the importance of knowing the schema and the decision-making lying behind the overt administrative behavior; 4) the

accent on processes over time, e.g., today had a yesterday and will have a tomorrow; and 5) the multiple consequences of any administrative act or series of acts, and the fact that these consequences have varying "good-bad" evaluations depending on the several criteria against which they might be, and usually are, compared.

In short, our observations on the administrative process at Kensington are intended to reveal the nuances and complexities in another particular situation and to suggest concepts and hypotheses toward a more powerful middle range theory of educational administration.

ASPECTS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

The Theoretical Quest

Fermentation, agitation and unrest characterize the state of educational administrative theory today. The shift from an evaluative to an analytical orientation began forcefully in 1957 with the first UCEA seminar and the collection of its papers edited by Halpin (1957). More recently, leaders in the field have spoken to a series of issues in the N.S.S.E. Yearbook, Behavioral science and educational administration.¹ We do not pretend to be administrative theorists, yet we have been interested in leadership, group process, and the psychology of teaching processes for sometime, and we found ourselves taking field notes and making interpretive asides about the process of administration. In a sense we were listening to the muted voice of Andrew Halpin as he wrote, in his usual

¹Some theorists (e.g. Halpin, 1965), feel that the fermentation stopped early and insipidly in this volume.

deft style,

. . . it is a progress report. . . The fact that these formulations are not all polished to a high gloss does not stop us from sharing our ideas with you. Perhaps you, too, will hear the Lorelei song, and try your own hand at theory development. (1958, p. xiv.)

At the start of this study the original research proposal stated our intention this way:

In the proposed study, the principal's decision making role will be a focal point in the light of the novel building design, the demand for instructional innovation, and the majority of teachers new to the system. By capitalizing on these events, which should highlight the issues, we should be able to criticize and extend the theory of decision making as it has been applied in education, e.g. Halpin Administrative Theory in Education.

We sailed, heard the song, and know not what rock we have struck and been destroyed upon.

Beyond Efficiency

In a small book entitled Leadership in Administration, Selznick (1956) develops the thesis that the higher one is in the administrative hierarchy, the less significant becomes the logic of efficiency, the correlation of means with settled and accepted ends, and the more one needs to shift one's perspective to that of statesman, ". . . a concern for the evolution of the organization as a whole, including its changing aims and capabilities." (p. 5). While, to our knowledge, Shelby was not aware of the Selznick volume, nor did he phrase his point of view in these terms, his behavior indicates that he pursued this alternative. The particular pieces of evidence which seem most persuasive to this interpretation include the selection of the alternative of grandeur, (or, better, the strong support and high degree of complementarity of interests on this point among

Spanman, Cohen, and Shelby), the creation of the document known as the institutional plan, and the persistent pursuit of the curriculum committee which struggled throughout the year with the tough issues of the goals and broad means of public education.

Within professional education, a strong argument for this kind of reconceptualization of the principal's role and a reconstituting of the organizational structure of the school has been made by Schaefer (1967) as he describes the school as a center of inquiry. The school must change from a dreary factory-like organization into a milieu where students learn to inquire, in part, because inquiry is in the air, that is, they observe and partake of the faculty's inquiry into the exciting and difficult problems of teaching and learning. The administrator's task falls into conceiving, nurturing and vitalizing such a world for staff and students.

While we make later (in Chapter Eight) an intensive analysis of idealism at Kensington in the context of the innovative school, this is not the totality of the task. "True belief" is only part of the story. The remainder we would couch in this domain of administrative strategy; the thesis is suggested by Selznick's (1957) analysis as he distinguishes between organizations and institutions. In brief, our data and interpretation suggests that Shelby treated Kensington as an institution rather than as an organization. To put the distinction in Selznick's words:

. . . organizations are technical instruments, designed as means to definite goals. They are judged on engineering premises; they are expendable. Institutions, whether conceived as groups or practices, may be partly engineered, but they have also a 'natural' dimension. They are products of interaction and adaptation; they become the receptacles of group idealism; they are less readily expendable. (pp. 21-22).

In the case of true belief the organization is the receptacle of idealism before the organization exists. The doctrine, the ideology, the individual conceptions are built out of individual dreams rather than out of organizational realities. The day to day processes of interaction and adaptation have not occurred and the stuff of firm and continuing institutionalization has not arisen. Consequently, when the organization meets its problems, its rivalries, its disagreements, and its failures it has no way to turn, but back upon the doctrine which provides temporary sustenance, if it be sustenance at all.

In the context, then, of leadership strategies, we would formulate an hypothesis that organizational leadership, the concern for survival, for interpersonal goals, and for efficiency (the technology of adjusting means to given ends) must precede, or be given heavy accent early, in contrast to institutional leadership which must take the surviving, efficient, organization and reformulate its goals toward broader, deeper, or higher goals. In effect, the kind of administrative incumbent and the time in the organizational history interact significantly. Further, the consequences involved in the election of statesman alternative must be considered in the light of the initiation and development of an organization, the "true belief" components of vision and statesmanship, the problems of resources, and the mechanisms available for the problems of efficiency.

Several of these implications are suggested in Figure 7.1.

Insert Fig. 7.1 about here

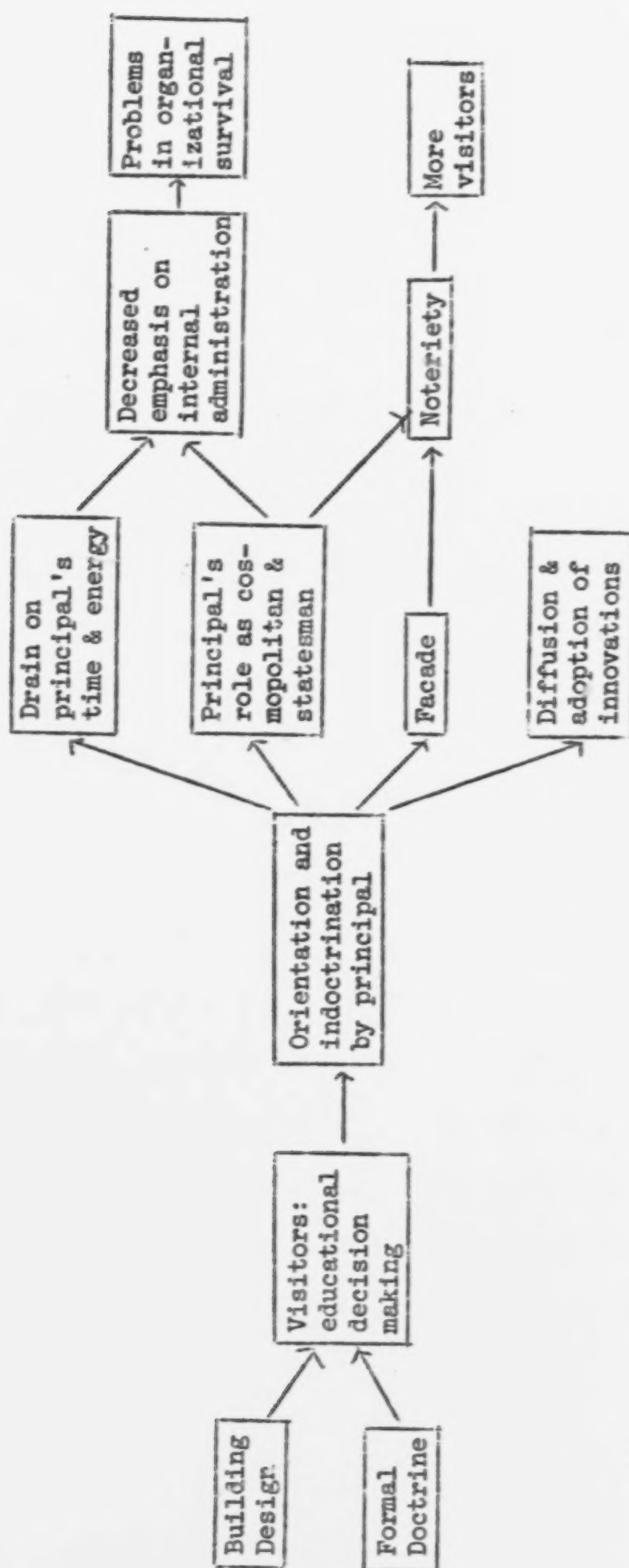


Figure 7.1 Antecedents and consequences of the statesman role at Kensington.

As we reflect upon this kind of analysis, it may be that the very content of the formal doctrine at Kensington prohibited the operationalizing and utilization of such an hypothesis. As we think further we seem to be implicitly assuming some variant of the gradualist hypothesis, in contrast to the alternative of grandeur, regarding social change.

Specific Aspects of Administrative Behavior

As we observed at Kensington, a number of recurring specific dimensions of administrative behavior arose. We tried to define these both conceptually and operationally. From this point we tried to identify relevant antecedents and consequences. Our theoretical bias suggests that these hypotheses, codified for the most part in pictorial models, are important points of departure for verificational research.

Perceptual awareness: being on top of the situation

In the summary notes, just before the move to the new building, one of the teachers, commented seriously about a concern for property destruction. This generated in the observer some reflections on communication within the staff. The latter ideas raised an important dimension of administrative behavior, "being on top of the situation."

After having been at Basic Skills and ISD, I'm on my way to the new building. While at ISD I had a few moments to talk with one of the teachers who came over to see me. He expressed a personal and private opinion which he had not talked about to the rest of the staff concerning what he calls respect for property. This arose when I made a comment about how pretty the building was and he returned that he felt unhappy about letting the kids in the building for fear of what they will do to it. He sees respect for property as one of the fundamental aspects of our society and he sees these kids as not having it. (LMS--interpretively, to me, what he's saying suggests the important

impact of the nature of the freedom that they have given the children and how this had led to a misuse and wasting of materials and resources and to the lack of concern about the "nice things" that they have in the school. This point should be made in conjunction with how different I saw these kids as compared to the downtown kids at the beginning of the year. This is especially true in regard to their hostility and their destructive behavior which I see as much less at Kensington.)

Another interesting aspect of his comment is that he obviously was speaking with considerable emotion, considerable concern and yet he hasn't raised this with anyone else in the building. In a staff that has a point of view and philosophy of freedom and of high communication levels, etc. he's, in effect, giving evidence of the fact that the people don't talk about significant events of this kind. In ISD the divisions are so deep and so great that you, in effect, have an aggregate of people who are interdependent yet isolated. In a sense this is reflected also in Eugene's relationship to the group. He seems to have no "feel" for the pulse of the division. One might guess that this is suggested also by his administrative handling of the space allocation and also about what seemed to be implicit in a Basic Skills comment over the moving of the ditto machine. The latter is very vital to them and they have apparently no control over it. Eugene, apparently without realizing it, is going to create some serious problems for all of them there. In effect, it seems to me, that we need a concept of the order of "being on top of the situation" which seems to be having the necessary knowledge about the desires and the wants of the individuals in the sub groups; having knowledge about how things hook up; and, at the same time, having some kind of resources to control this and to influence it so that you may come out in some kind of conglomerate OK fashion. (12/4)

Insert Fig. 7.2 about here

First things first

An old cliché states that one should carry out "first things first." However, the cliché does not specify criteria for determining what is

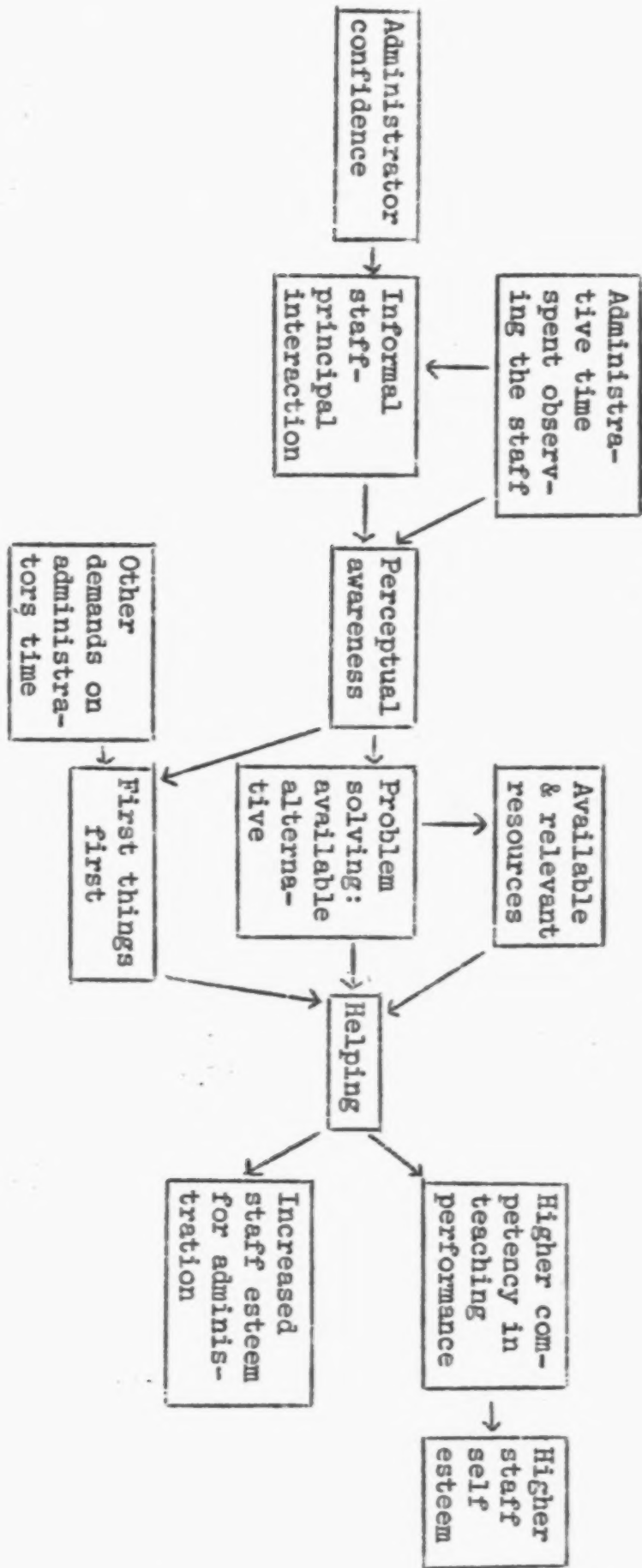


Figure 7.2 Perceptual awareness in the administrative process.

first and what is second. In part perceived pressing needs of group members might become such a criterion. In this manner, an administrator could facilitate the progress of the group.

At the close of the school I was to attend a Basic Skills team 4 meeting. This got rearranged because Eugene had someone from the Webster Publishing Company in to demonstrate a text on program reading. Literally, none of the four was interested in seeing this at this time. They all thought it was more desirable to engage in a team meeting. Wanda, who had gone out of the room and who brought back the word, said that it wasn't a request, that it was an order. As she put it, there was no choice. Second, the Basic Skills team 4 is operating under pretty much a catch as catch can individual fashion at this point. They have not met during the holidays nor have they met today to any great degree before school started. They were eager to have a team meeting so that they could begin to do some things in correlated fashion. Also, it's the understanding that they are no longer to have Chris to help them. I'm not sure how firm this is but this is the way they seem to understand it. This means that they have got to redivide the reading groups so that they can pick up the kids she's been working with. This will increase, according to Wanda, the size of their groups to about 30. She feels this is too large. (1/4)

Perceptual conflict

In literature, one of the most sensitive accomplishments of the past few decades, occurred in Lawrence Durrell's "Alexandria Quartet." In four novels Durrell unfolds the lives of a group of people from the individual perceptual frameworks of four members of the group. In this manner, the total experience has a beauty and a subtlety seldom portrayed. As participant observers at Kensington we had much the same view of the totality. We moved from event to event and conversation to conversation, each time trying to see through the eyes of the particular faculty member. Again and again we were struck by the differences and conflicts in perception which had important implications in the dynamics of the school. For

instance, shortly before Christmas, and after the move to the new building:

Pat also talked a bit about how the Transition Division members described themselves as the "forgotten division." What these feelings amount to seems to be something like this: back when we needed help over at the Hillside School, none was ever there and we fumbled and stumbled about. We gradually made sense out of it and began to work out a means of organization and of handling the problems. Now we are gradually getting on top of it and we don't need or want any help. Also, we don't need and don't want any kind of outside direction that would tell us how we ought to do things.

If this be really true and if Eugene's earlier comments today about his feeling that some of the staff don't appreciate the freedom he's given them also be true, then we have an interesting situation of quite different perceptions of the same events and a good bit of feeling attached to these perceptions. This suggests a very important problem in the basic psychology of conflict and of administrative organization and possibly of consulting. The differences lie not so much in some kind of intrinsic personality problems of anyone, but in relatively simple, but varying, perceptions of the same series or sets of events and the attachment of these with considerable feelings, both positive and negative, and the magnification of these in some kind of spiraling, sequential way which leaves the individuals at a total standoff or inability to carry out any kind of common effort. If this is so, it then suggests that there are a whole series of human relations problems which can be solved with minimal effort by the providing of experiences that will alter these perceptions either through conversation or through activities of one kind or another.

(12/22)

Whether more or less of this occurred at Kensington than in any other school or realm of life, we do not know. Nonetheless, we were impressed by its omnipresence and its significance in the functioning of the staff.² Figure 7.3 focuses on this issue from the reference point of the administrator who has sources of information which can contribute to the solution of the perceptual conflict. As these sources

2. This seems particularly significant in a situation where the doctrine accents faculty decision making prerogatives.

are restricted to any great degree then his processes of decision making and his influence attempts will be correspondingly restricted.

Insert Figure 7.3 about here

Incongruity

Even in a formal doctrine as well codified as Kensington's inconsistencies existed. But beyond these, special problems occurred in the application of the doctrine to specific situations and problems. For instance, early in the year, a number of occasions occurred when Shelby supported a substantive position of David Nichols which was in conflict with the majority opinion of I.S.D. The conflict in going with the majority, Kensington's democratic thrust, versus following the substantive thrust e.g. an interpretation of individualization, of the institutional plan or formal doctrine often resulted in the latter alternative being chosen. Such a difficult choice seemed to produce perceptions of incongruity and frustration.

Insert Figure 7.4 about here

Social science doesn't speak clearly to such real and excruciating dilemmas. Jackson (1960) might well argue for meta norms, that is rules about rules. Influence theorists would indicate as does Schachter (1957) that a sequenced series of processes of deviation, of communication, and of rejection would occur. Merei (1948) might extrapolate from his

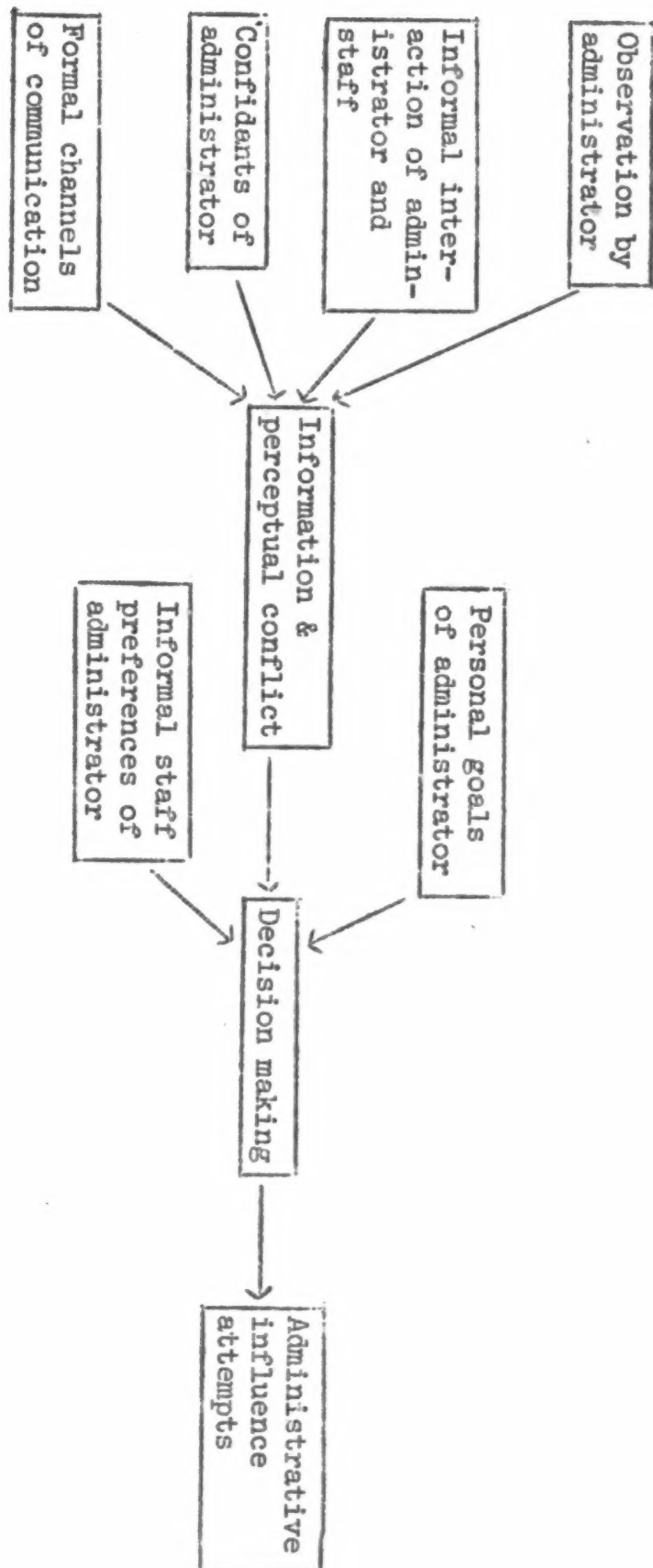


Figure 7.3 Information and perceptual conflict in the administrative process.

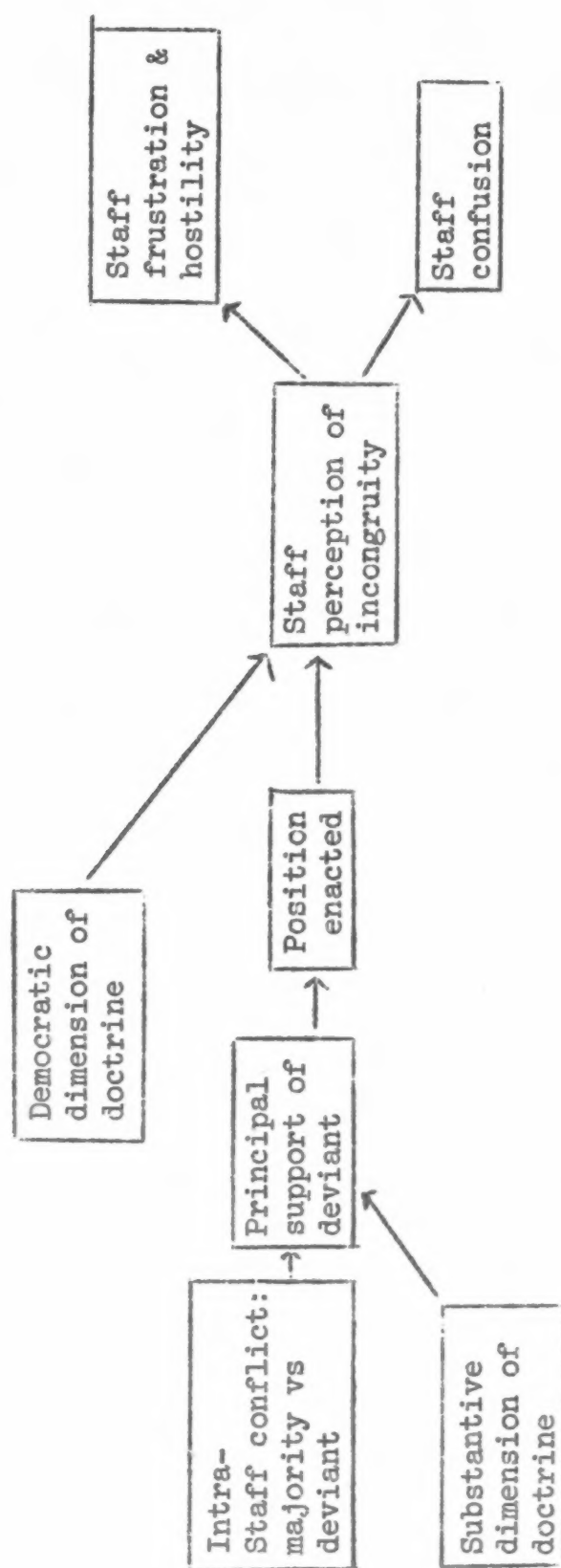


Figure 7.4 Dilemmas in administrative choices.

preschool study that leaders must join the group and become full-fledged members before attempting to change the group. Selznick (1949) would see the latter as a special instance of co-optation. Theorists of formal organization (Barnard, 1947) might never have allowed such a doctrinal dilemma to occur.

Occasions for intervention

As we have described, during the last few days of November and the first few days of December, Kensington began to rustle and tremble as the impending move to the new building arrived. To the casual onlooker, moving to new quarters may seem a simple phenomenon. To the investigators, issues of administrative strategies and tactics were apparent; our biases suggested that implications--our notions of anticipated and unanticipated consequences--could accrue from such a change as a move to the new and long-desired quarters.

Another point of some interest is the way in which Eugene has figured to move. If the building is not totally done, and I still can't believe that it will be, there is the question of the handling of all the minor inconveniences and the little difficulties, and whether this will impede the program. The question is whether it would be better to wait another week or two weeks and go in full dress or whether it's better to go in and limp awhile in the new quarters. I think my own bias, and I'm not sure of the reasons at the moment, would lie with the waiting for it to be totally ready and the more systematic decisionmaking in planning before you go in. They have limped so much, for so long, that to engage in more, and in the context of the new building which is supposed to solve many of the problems, seems to me to be a bit on the tragic side, for a move of the more stable units and a solidifying of those would then become an anchor about which you could integrate the more troubled spots.

There are some interesting organizational strategy questions here as to how you play from strength and how you perceive your strength and what particular goals you have. (12/3)

Later in the same day, (12/3), the observers have just finished a brief visit to the building and the potential consequences of the move receive the following comments:

The building is so far from being ready that it is going to create a good many problems in implementing the program. The issue that keeps coming back to me again and again is that their getting involved, once again, in situations that are not ready or are not prepared for them. And in what should be a beautiful and happy move to a crystallized physical setting which can implement the kind of program they want seems very likely to degenerate into a move to another "almost ready" kind of temporary setting that must be lived with for the moment. This will take some of the edge and some of the excitement and some of the novelty off of the new building. And what could be a real plus in terms of having them get on top of the world again will probably be a minus. (12/3)

Further aspects of the strategy of moving arose in the observer's speculations two days later, early on Saturday morning.

This morning as I drive in I'm trying to make sense out of some of the odds and ends left over from the images of the move in the last two days. For some reason the image that gets aroused is that of Sherif's book on the robber's cave experiment. The genesis of the inter team hostility was on grounds other than the competitiveness introduced by an outsider or by a leader. In a sense, though, the North and the South teams were fighting over the scarce resources. Or better, they soon came to be fighting over that whereas, initially, the problems arose in difficulty in points of view, in ends and means, and in holding to commitments. A very interesting problem would be to try to conceptualize superordinate goals which would, in effect, eliminate this. Perhaps Eugene missed a very great opportunity. You have a "naturally defined" starting all over again which could have been generalized to a whole series of other things. As far as I know, this has not occurred and the opportunity if not taken this morning or this afternoon will be gone forever. This poses an interesting problem for the leader's role in that it puts him in the position of being able to perceive the problem, perceive the alternatives open to the solution of the problem, some of which could be derived from theories such as Sherif's, and then begin to implement these in some kind of fashion where he has legitimate power and authority. It becomes even more interesting since Eugene has given away most of that legitimate power and authority. Seemingly he has

lost credits not only because he gave them away, but because the handling of many of the routine administrative chores has been so troublesome. (12/5)

In short, the theoretical point which we seem to be reaching for concerns the use of naturally occurring breaks, episodes, which everyone perceives as such, as an administrative lever, an optimal time for intervention. Presumably the changing environment presents such opportunities to all organizations, although perhaps more frequently to some than to others. Although the observers had not realized it at the time, this same phenomenon seemed to be operating in the Transition Division and the Basic Skills Division. The notes record the issues this way:

Another item occurred during the coffee break when I was talking with Meg, Dan, and Claire. They are concerned about the limited space they will have and the fact that they are going to have to work as one large unit. Claire and Meg also indicated to Dan that he would not be able to bring along his boxes, caves, and whatever. There just wouldn't be space. I was struck then and also later in the general meeting by what I would call "shrewish wife" mode of addressing and talking to him.

A couple of things occurred which should be mentioned. One of these surrounds the final agreement among the two representatives of the Basic Skills sub-teams--Carla and Sue--to work together on some kind of a Christmas program for the whole Basic Skills Division. Sue even made a comment of keeping the spirit of the season, or something very close to that. (12/5)

In a sense, the two illustrations present a negative and a positive illustration of our more general point.

In a final illustration, we generalize the occasion to any episode characterized by flux.

All of this is to suggest that once again Eugene has a very clear opportunity to move in and shape the policy and the programs of the school. Intuitively, the general principle seems to be that whenever there is flux and uncertainty, then the chances for influence are increased.

Whenever there is an equilibrium which is reasonably stable, then the possibilities are correspondingly reduced. Latently, I presume there is an assumption concerning satisfactions accruing to individuals and the fact that this produces a reasonably stable equilibrium. A point of attack on this might well be Kurt Lewin's old notion of unfreezing and freezing the quasi-stationary equilibrium. I'll have to go back and check this and determine the kinds of forces which he argues will unfreeze such a group. On the surface it would seem as though it must be a very significant and potent force. In this particular instance it's the new building, it's the first time that all the others have been perceived in operation, and it's conceptualized as a new start, a beginning. (12/14)

Monitoring and Sequencing of decisions

Another phase of the administrative process concerns responsibility for what we have called "sequencing of decisions." An observation arose this way in the notes:

The early decision to move Irma into a self-contained class looked like an appropriate way to handle some of the problems of the independent study division. Now, however, with the movement of the other children into platoons, it seems to me that this prior move defeats the possibilities of the functioning of the academic counselor concept. With Bill Kirkham gone long ago, with David tied up in the T groups, and with Irma with her own group, this prohibits any utilization of the academic counselors in the role for which they were originally designed. It seems to me that there is a very real executive responsibility in keeping the sequence of decisions which seem reasonable at the time of any one of them from getting you off into spots where it's impossible to reach the organizational goals. If you added the Bill Kirkham situation, the Irma situation, and the Walt Larsen situation, then the Kensington program and philosophy, in every sense, of the word, is paralyzed. How to recoup this is a very, very difficult problem. (9/15)

Sequencing of decisions refers to the monitoring of the decision making process so as not to find yourself in an irreversible situation through a series of minor (or major) changes, none of which seemed significant at the time but which cumulate quite critically.

Styles are styles are styles

Central to the argument of leadership are concerns for units of analysis. Is the behavior of the leader to be analyzed in moment to moment terms? Do these moment to moment units add up to definable larger units, or styles? Is there a style about variations in style? We puzzled about this all year.

Pat reports that Eugene attended the transition team meeting yesterday afternoon and explained the rules and the need for them. He then took his earlier laissez-faire type role and let them conduct their team meeting by themselves. This swinging from laissez-faire to autocratic and back is a real interesting kind of role. It reflects a consistency going back over many months, however.
(12/10)

The difficult issues of suiting one's style to one's personality is only part of the problem. Serious further concern comes in then devising mechanisms, e.g., information getting, to meet certain demands of the administrative process.

Helping: The search for strategic factors

In The Functions of the Executive, Barnard presents a "theory of opportunism."³ By this he means ". . . that no action can take place except in the present, under conditions and with the means presently available." (p. 201). In Barnard's view this process is essentially a concern about means and finding "strategic factors," the elements of a situation, barriers which prevent the attainment of goals. The shift back and forth between what is or is not a strategic factor depends upon

³His chapter title is "The Theory of Opportunism," but the word opportunism has taken on such strong negative connotations that we prefer to avoid it.

where one is in the problem solving process. He illustrates with a farmer who wishes to increase his yield of grain. Finding what is needed e.g. potash is superceded by other limiting conditions.

Nevertheless, when the need has been determined, a new situation has arisen because of the fact of knowledge or the assumption that potash is the limiting factor; and instead of potash, the limiting factor obtaining potash then becomes the strategic factor; and this will change progressively into obtaining the money to buy potash, then finding John to go after potash, then getting machines and men to spread potash, etc., etc. Thus the determination of the strategic factor is itself the decision which at once reduces purpose to a new level, compelling search for a new strategic factor in the new strategic situation. (p. 204).

We cite this example, not only for its wide generality as a key element in the administrative process, but also for its concrete applicability to the analysis of "helping." If the analogy holds, Barnard is saying that a problem can be a problem for a long time after the initial diagnosis and decision. If our analysis is correct that the administrator has responsibility for the total organization and if he perceives difficulties--especially regarding a subordinate's performance, then the sequential focusing and refocusing on the strategic factors must continue until the subordinate, the teacher in this instance, can carry on by himself or other forces--outside materials or resources--are made available for him to do so.

Insert figure 7.5 about here

At several points during the year we groped for a concept of "helping" which seemed to be an important aspect of administrative behavior. Early in December, as the move to the new building was underway, and after a

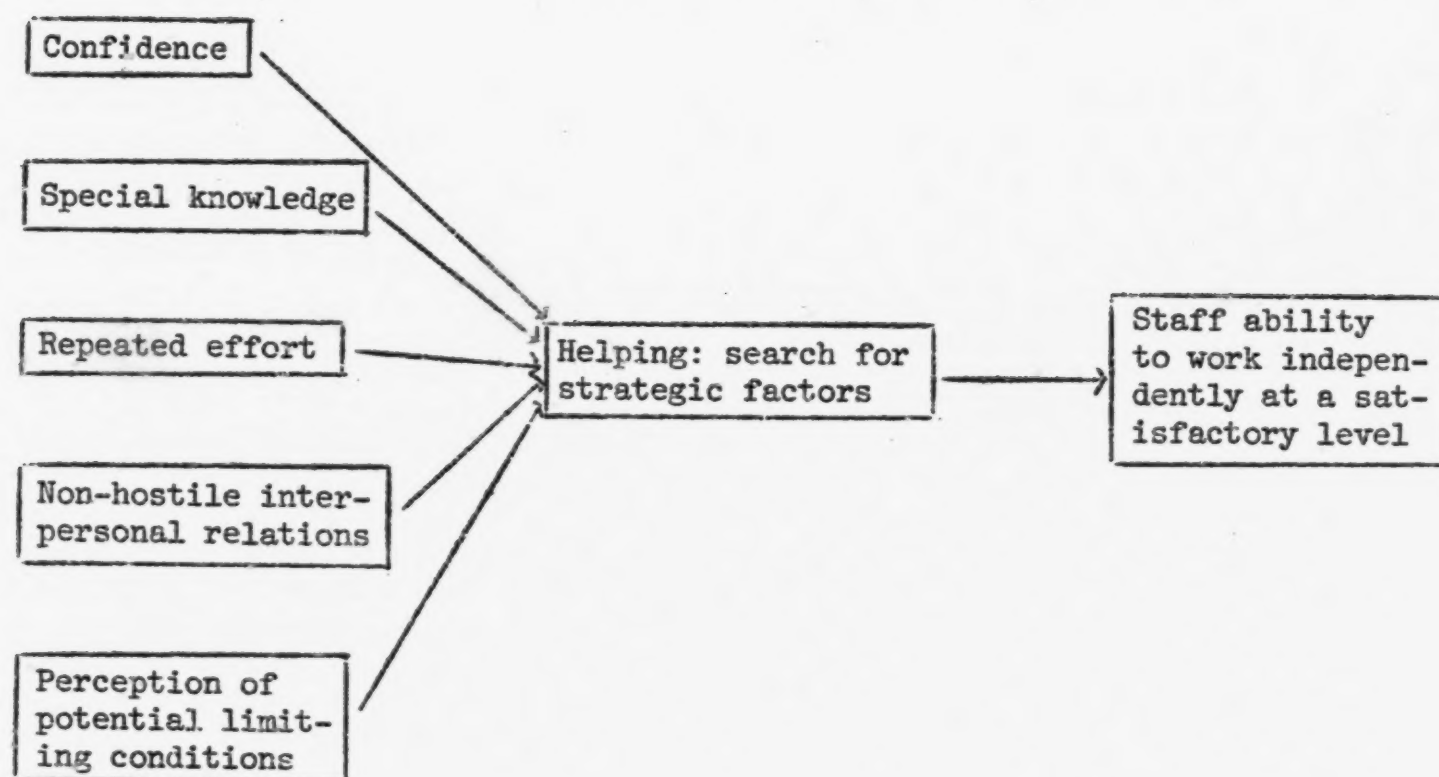


Figure 7.5 "Helping" as an aspect of the administrative process.

difficult Saturday morning staff meeting when the faculty argued at length over policies surrounding Christmas parties, tree decorations, and teacher freedom, our speculations went this way:

The notion of administrative intervention or breaking into a system and the means of conceptualizing this kind of intervention seems best handled by a concept such as "helping." Defining "helping" in psychological terms seems a necessary conceptual task. For the moment, the immediate alternative seems to lie in the area of the individual's own definition of his goals and the direction to the goals and what he needs in reaching those goals; better yet in facilitating the goals. The tightrope that the administrator must walk centers on the making of individual goals and group goals congruent. He must fathom the special needs and at the same time the organizational needs and link these together in a particular, in terms of the issue of whether to install corporal punishment of students, etc., it seems to me, that he might well have implemented this in one room or at least given the teacher this option for helping bring the kids under control. In the other classes, it seems to me that this is not necessary at this point and could well come later if need be. The examples drawn from this group would soon filter into all of the other classrooms. Another teacher needs somebody to hold his hand, another needs some textbooks, and so on. Mostly, they need an administrator around to listen, to hear, and to see. Whether he can talk to anybody without moralizing and without a judgemental position is a question. (12/7)

Several days later, the same phenomenon was caught.

Eugene spent a good bit of time this morning in laying out physical education schedules with John. This conversation seemed very task oriented and seemed to be a fine example of give and take between two people working on a common problem. There are some real difficulties in what the PE objectives will be and how they will get organized among the 20 or so teachers and the 500 children. Apparently, here Eugene is making quite reasonable, adequate, and important contact with one of his teachers. (12/10)

Trust

During December, the issue of trust was more generally in the air.

A summary comment regarding a staff meeting caught it this way.

He talked about the "competitive stance" between him and some of the faculty and the need for mutual trust and cooperation. This also, he had mentioned earlier to me, at least the competitive part although he didn't say anything about mutual trust. (12/15)

Similar statements were made again in January at a team meeting at which the consultant was present. Yet, while the issue was salient, no extended analyses occurred of the sources of the distrust or of steps to be taken to reduce it. Even though there was little effort to increase trust or to seek for the cause of distrust, a move was made which was to assure specified behavioral outcomes and lessen the dependence on reciprocal trust. In the summary notes the immediately preceding paragraph began this way:

Pat called last night and reported the following:
Eugene called a last minute staff meeting some time after I left at 11:00. Many of the teachers were unhappy. He unleashed another whole stack of rules and said that there would be another dittoed sheet of them coming out today. Third, there was some talk of having a committee from each of the divisions to be on a rule writing group. This apparently was Meg's suggestion, I think, and Eugene didn't cotton to it very much. This is surprising in that earlier, yesterday, he had commented about having a broader base for some of the committee and procedure and policy recommendations. (12/15)

These observations, however, are only part of a much more complex picture. For instance, in meetings with parents, throughout the year, the teachers were the major elements in describing, explaining and selling the program. The degree of faith and trust shown here was boundless. Typically such meetings were opened with a few general remarks by the principal, then the total group broke into smaller units led by the teachers or into totally individualized dyadic conversations between a teacher and a parent. Seldom have the researchers witnessed this degree of

faith, confidence, and trust in one's staff.

Other parts of this issue arose around the institutional plan. During August, early in the school's history, considerable conflict centered in this domain. The observer's notes reflected the continuing issue of Shelby's reticence about deviating from his extensively thought out conception of Kensington. The dilemma seemed to be an intense conflict between faith and trust in one's carefully considered program and ideas and faith and trust in one's professional staff to create an even more engaging and arresting conception of Kensington. The repercussions of this dilemma and Shelby's usual choice in favor of the institutional plan had further nuances in that some portions of the plan and doctrine emphasized faculty and pupil control of policy and decision making. Such incongruities are analyzed later in more detail.

THE LOCUS OF DECISION MAKING

Introduction

American education for at least the last fifty years has been in turmoil over the concept of democracy. One phase of this occurred in Kensington. The summary notes, reporting a conversation between the observer and the Principal, a day before the summer workshop, capture the flavor:

...we also got into a discussion of, To whom is the pupil responsible? In general, he is not responsible to the teacher, but more the teacher is responsible to him and the pupil is responsible to himself. The teachers are to be resource persons for the suggesting of ideas and of phenomena and of areas of study, but the pupils' obligations will be essentially to themselves. Perhaps

the item that struck me most was the elimination of almost every element of coercion and, along with this, to a very great degree, the element of requiredness or minimum essentials of some kind in the curriculum of the children. (8/9)

The notes continue with comments of differences in the reading curriculum versus social studies and science curricula. The former would have some minimums, the latter would not. The observer made interpretive comments that:

. . . it harks back to the early work in the activity curriculum and in the variety of independent study programs. (8/9)

Analytically we have referred to this issue as the locus of decision making. The issue was central to the life of Kensington. It merges several theoretical themes--issues in administrative theory, issues in organizational theory, and issues in curriculum theory.

Final Authority

Typically when people are in conflict, they tend to interact, engage in discussions, persuade one another, trade, bargain, compromise, and come to agreement. When these processes do not result in agreements, they appeal to "higher authority" to mediate or arbitrate the decision. This higher authority ultimately must act if the organization is to continue to function. In most organizations several layers or levels of authority exist. The end point or highest level of authority we have called "the final authority." Typically, organizations have a number of levels of authority, and a correlated chain of command or flow of commands.

Formally, in the public schools, in a political democracy such as ours, the final authority lies in the community. In effect, conflicts

among pupils are mediated by the teacher; conflicts between teachers and pupils or among teachers are mediated by the principal. This continues "up the line," until one comes finally to the community. We have diagrammed these relationships in Figure 7.6.

Insert Figure 7.6 about here

The members of the school board are duly elected to set school policy for the community. Part of the board's charge is to hire a superintendent who has responsibility to staff the schools and to turn policy statements into workable goals toward which the organization might aspire. As we have indicated briefly elsewhere, the majority of the board strongly supported Spanman and he in turn strongly supported Shelby. However, the community contained serious conflicting positions regarding the public schools, and these differences had a long history in the community. Similarly, the central staff contained an "old guard" which viewed aspects of Spanman's program, including Kensington, with considerable skepticism. From time to time, the reality of this skepticism and its accompanying conflict had repercussions in the day to day conduct of the school. Delays in receiving materials and equipment, conflict over budget allotments, disagreements over requisitions and requisition procedures, and problems in personnel were part of the school. However, the major point we would make is that this usual structure conflicts in a major way with the Kensington doctrine.

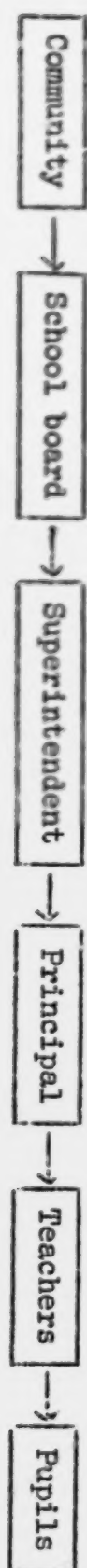


Figure 7.6 The formal authority structure, chain of command, or flow of commands in the public schools.

Delegation of authority

Typically, the higher levels of authority give lower levels responsibility for making decisions in particular areas of activity. While these decisions may be subject to periodic review, the locus of decision making then lies with sub-units of the organization. Such delegation of authority is supposed to bring benefits of several sorts--increased motivation of subordinates, clearer perceptions of specific "local" problems and more flexible solutions to the problems. Dysfunctions include such items as time demands and a concern for status and power. However, it should be noted that delegation, the giving or commissioning of authority, implies that the gift can be withdrawn. As we note later, Kensington as a protected subculture did have considerable latitude and freedom. In many ways it operated independently of the remainder of the Milford School District.

The Upside-down Authority Structure at Kensington

As we have indicated, authority was not delegated to the pupils. It belonged to them. They were the community, the final authority. In a very real sense Kensington becomes a serious attempt to bring democracy to a public school. Our earlier work in a public school which was autocratic in purpose and operation (Smith and Geoffrey, 1965) led us to speak informally of the "upside-down authority structure" at Kensington. The implications and consequences of this educational and organizational innovation were multiple. Figure 7.7 presents our schema of these relationships. In a sense, the authority structure illustrates beautifully the

interdependencies of the elements in a social system.

Insert Figure 7.7 about here

The model should be read this way. The institutional plan, and Shelby's interpretation of it, stated that the decisions should flow from the pupils to teachers to administration. In the August workshop, with no pupils present, the flow of authority was truncated and it went from teachers to the administration. In conjunction with the T-group experience and the undetermined team leadership positions, this led to faculty jockeying for power, a complex faculty committee structure, and numerous problems in privileged communications and special knowledge (possessed by the principal through his formal contacts in the Milford School System). Further consequences resulted: the Kirkham incident, an unending search for leadership, and tremendous expenditures of faculty time and energy.

Team leadership

A central organizational and administrative issue in team teaching revolves around the pattern of organization: vertical-bureaucratic or horizontal-collegial to use Lortie's (1964) phrasing. One of the investigator's early concerns centered on studying the possible incongruency of formal and informal leadership of teaching teams. This problem did not appear for investigation because Shelby elected to have leadership arise more spontaneously from within the faculty during the August workshop. During that period of the school's life he verbalized the point of view that the teacher's were the responsible constituency. As we have

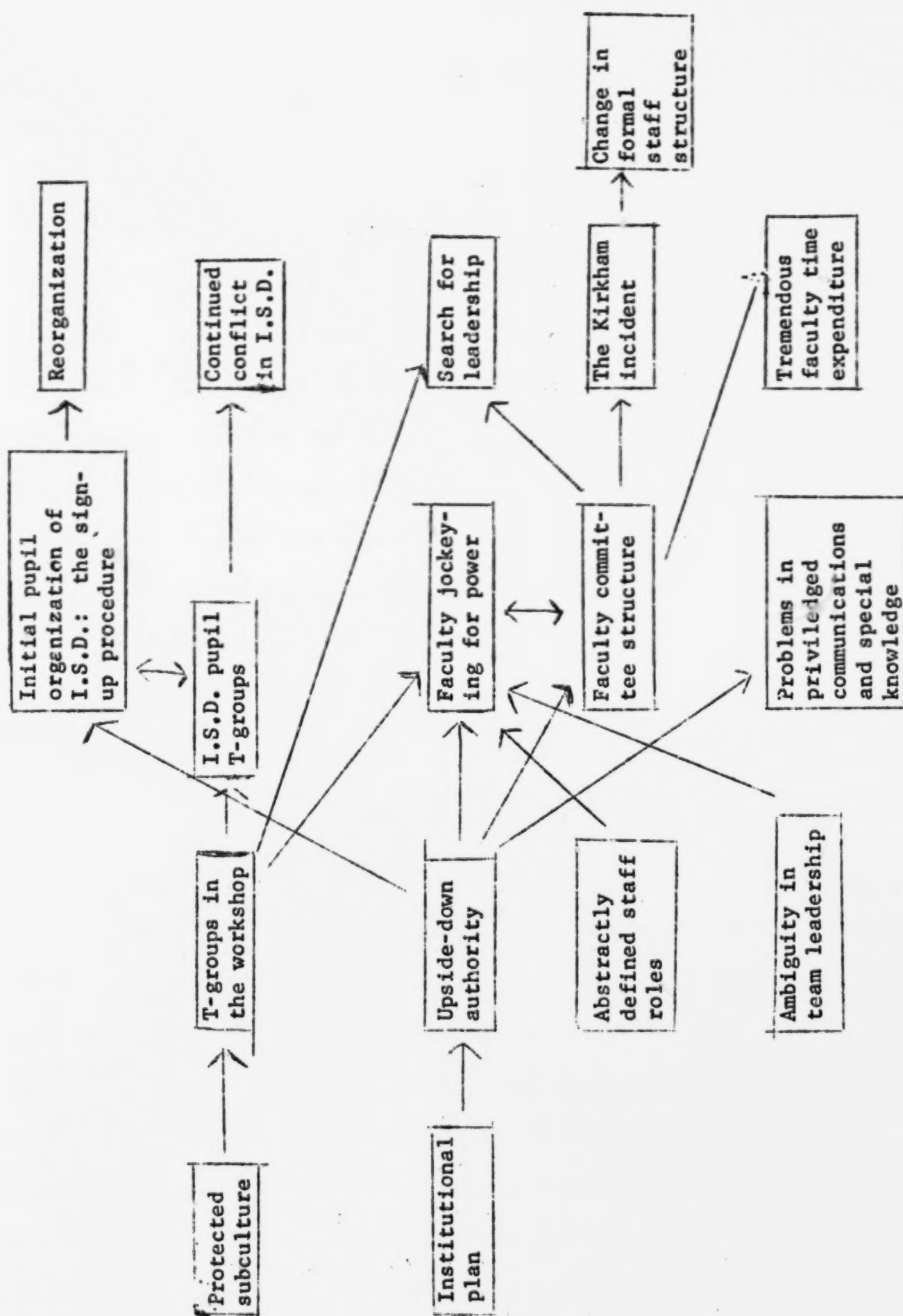


Figure 7.7. Antecedents and consequences of Kensington's novel authority structure.

related, August especially, but early September also, was the occasion for a series of confrontations and struggles for power among the faculty. The initial curriculum coordinating committee, which later was called the central committee, had appointed rather than elected membership. A serious struggle arose here as the implications of the potential power of the committee were perceived.

The Independent Study Division was wracked with conflict. Kirkham was an initial central figure in this. Davis and Nichols' conflict lay partly here, that is, a struggle for power, as well as in other philosophical and personality differences. Thurman, in turn, tried and was supported in part at various times for team leadership. Transition's leadership, especially after the arrival of the pupils, moved from essentially a discussion and consensus approach, to one of leadership by Meg, the only one of the three with experience. She received considerable coalition type support from Claire. In Basic Skills, early conflict was more on the bases of power, e. g., ideas and ideology versus experience, rather than needs for dominance. Personality differences were critical also. Later, the team of four evolved more gradually and with considerable compromise to a large and relatively unperceived degree through the efforts of Chris, a part-time staff member whose personality and behavior blended considerable experience in individualized instruction, an articulate manner of conceptualizing and talking about the program, great skill in working with young children, considerable help to Sue, the neophyte teacher, and a facility for making constructive suggestions in a group without antagonizing team members. In Basic Skills 2, Carla assumed direction early and eventually to the great consternation of Mary.

As we have indicated, leadership roles as a product of group experience grow slowly and frequently with considerable conflict in a new organization. Also, at Kensington, and here there were elements of professional pride and individual autonomy, too, these informal leadership roles never attained the potency of formal representation in either a governing or administering function. Shelby never had a group of the faculty who would speak for or speak to the divisions or the teams. Throughout the year school wide matters were handled with the total staff or with individual members.

The quest for procedure and leadership

Difficulties in dealing with meeting procedure were not new to the I.S.D. faculty when they encountered divergences through the year. An account from a meeting in mid-August enables one to view a typical leadership and procedural search:

David -- I want to see how we should operate as a group.

Jack -- Go ahead.

David -- I just want to throw it out.

Jack -- Let's hear what you have to say.

Eugene -- We could talk about the things the first person throws out.

(David pointedly tells Jack he takes the group off the track.)

Eugene -- We need a rudder, we can't just discuss the first thing that comes up.

Alec -- I don't feel I have to talk all the time. David, you seem to think all must speak in turn.

David -- Do you who haven't spoken feel this way? I don't want to seem so damn dogmatic, but you, (Jack) should see if we're interested.

Irma -- Do we have to take a vote each time we want to talk about something?

David -- I agree with you Alec, that all must not talk-- but I wasn't in on the decision-making.

Jack -- David, what should we do then?
 David -- I don't have to solve it--let's talk about it--
 Hell, let's get some things out of the way.
 Eugene -- (Mentioned Basic Skills as a smooth operating function.)--If it continued like this time, we would have to do something. Do you want a program coordinator?
 Bill -- I hope not.
 Jack -- What is our task--identifying procedure.
 Bill -- No.
 Eugene -- That's what you did.
 David -- (Curtly): Let him explain himself.
 Bill -- I wanted to throw out something and see what came.
 David -- I feel you are experimenting with us.
 Jack -- Why doesn't anyone speak up.
 Liz -- You have to be impolite to get in a word.
 Jack -- What is our procedure? (Everyone laughs.)
 Liz -- I feel this is necessary.
 Irma -- Can we iron out procedure.
 Bill -- We are. (Curtly.)
 Irma -- Not to me we aren't.
 Bill -- That's what we anticipated last week--separate groups.
 (Bill, David and Liz agree interpersonal relations are important.)
 David -- Bill, you and I could railroad this group if we wanted to.
 Irma -- (Snaps): I think you're overestimating yourself.
 Alec -- How can we get things done if interrelationships take the time?
 Tom -- Last week we took three days for this and then we got on the ball.
 Jack--Sometimes you start with step one or step two or step three.
 Irma -- What do you suggest?
 Liz -- We felt a need to discuss relationships.
 Alec -- As long as one person needs to discuss it, we need to.
 Liz -- We are getting closer now.
 Jack -- Can I pull out of the situation and do something I want to do?
 (David and Liz tell Jack that this is not a hypothetical situation. Feeling runs a bit high.)
 Eugene -- How about starting and stopping times.
 David -- We need to find procedural patterns.
 Jack-- We want to find a starting time.
 Bill -- I feel we've come a long way.
 Jack -- Not to me.
 David -- I feel I am much freer than before.
 Irma -- I think we should start and stop on time.
 Jack -- Then anyone can mention when it's time to quit.

General discussion arose and this was never answered and the Principal

attempted to summarize.

David -- Eugene, I don't feel we should have you summarize all the time. We should learn to do that.

Eugene -- I won't do that again. I was just a member of the group.

(Liz concerned with factionalism of whole team.)

(Bill sees danger of becoming prejudiced before he has sufficient information.)

David -- I agree, but we want this conflict--it's healthy--we can always subdivide.

Eugene -- (Again summarized) We made two decisions.

1. Strict time schedule. 2. Meeting at 1:45 p.m.

The August statements regarding agenda, time of meeting, length, content, who makes other procedural decisions, and the importance given to interpersonal relations by some of the staff were identified early as areas in need of decisions. Yet the same queries were echoed throughout September. Here, as is presented later, is a situation in which possible consequences were identified. In late September, as was true in August, the consequences were identified but no action had been taken previously either to preclude further problems and/or to curb the current ones. The continuing problem is indicated by Liz's response to a question as to their team problem at a total-school faculty meeting: "We never agreed until last week as to who calls meetings, obligations to meet etc. We finally agreed to meet at 2:15 and in a place. How long we must stay; what happens if you leave and can those remaining make decisions still have to be decided." This lack of definite procedure seems crucial in a collegial team approach.

The lack of procedural guides fostered a great confusion on the individual level. There were no norms, except the lack of rules, at the team level and there were none regulating the sphere of the individual as an entity within the team. Risks were high, for when one did act, his assumptions and procedures were subject to the scrutiny of the team with

no specific team norms, other than that of the doctrine of non-directiveness, against which to weigh and evaluate both ideas and behavior. In effect, to act at all came to be identified with lack of concern with the team procedural structure and to risk being charged with directiveness.

Many of the difficulties facing the I.S.D. faculty were those with which, in a great part, a team leader would contend. The sentiments toward having a team leader and their impact and relationship to the development of the Division's organizational structure were important.

Upside-down authority and deviationism

A striking consequence of the reversal in the usual authority lines was the potency given the other parts of the organization at particular times. Although no prior discussion or precedent existed, the replacement of Bill was carried out in the context of a team decision. While the events leading to the Friday meeting in August had varied complications, the decision was finalized, or at least formalized, in the context of the team meeting. The usual protection from his colleagues which an organizational employee has, in the form of the formal authority of the organization, was not present. In contrast, one might argue that the group could provide protection from the authority usually vested in the formal line relationships. No situations of this kind of defense occurred.

For our analysis, regardless of the justifiable or non-justifiable quality of the decision, the power of the group to invoke the ultimate sanction of ostracism, replacement in a job (with all the implications of this for a man's work, career, etc.), for deviation seems critical. The classical experimental studies of deviation, conformity, and rejection

(Schachter, et al., 1951) are accurate but pale pictures of this reality.

Insert Figure 7.8 about here

Ambiguous internal lines of authority

While Kensington's "upside-down" authority structure was a problem of concern and debate within the school faculty in August and later, the Milford central office staff retained a more traditional view, that is, Eugene was in command. A casual luncheon introduction indicated a further perception of Tom playing the assistant's role.

Another interesting comment was Howard's statement at lunch in regard to his introduction of Tom to the former board member. He mentioned that Tom was kind of second in command when Eugene was not here. Tom backed off from this and said that he was not sure about that. All of this fell on the attendant and listening ears of John.
(12/2)

The nearest Tom's position came to a formal level occurred when the principal attended an out of town professional meeting in early March. The Bulletin stated it this way:

If any unusual matters needing attention should arise during this time which cannot be handled through the normal framework, you may refer them to Tom Mack, who has consented to assume this responsibility.
(Bulletin #45 3/1)

Several further complexities existed concerning Tom. He was the oldest man in the school. His range of experience was broadest. He had had more administrative experience than anyone else, including Eugene. As co-ordinator of curriculum materials he was at the hub of most of the communication network in the school. He held informal responsibilities in Jerl's

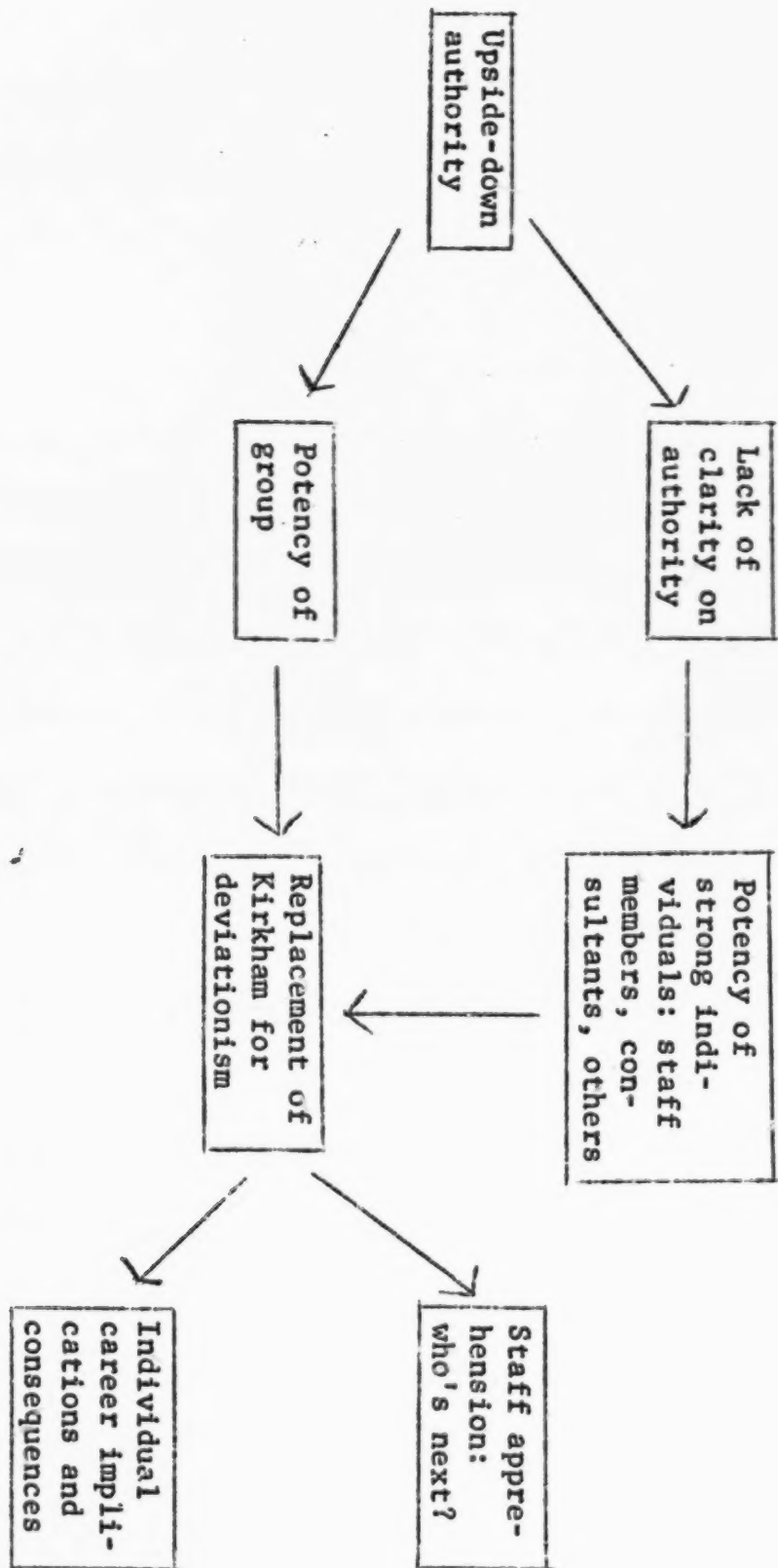


Figure 7.8. Implications of Kensington authority structure and deviationism.

aspirations for curriculum organization in the Milford District. Finally, and very significantly, he had, in the best sense of the term, an "old shoe" quality. He was informal, gregarious, helpful, and interested. He was father confessor to the young faculty members and trusted confidant of most of the older teachers.

Invisible but potent structure

Along these lines I quizzed him (one of the teachers) specifically about the raising more generally of some of these organizational and procedural issues, in the team meeting: 1) whether there was any open discussion about them and 2) whether he was going to raise them. He indicated no on both grounds. . . It illustrates perhaps best of all that he is operating under a notion that there is a formal organization and this organization has an attribute of power and authority. As he phrased it in another context, "that's Eugene's responsibility." That section of the write-up might well be entitled "The Invisible but Potent Structure." It suggests also that one of the things that is needed is an analysis of recent textbooks in administration that center on the topic of democratic school administration. The parallels, to the democratic classroom, it seems to me, are very striking. (9/24)

Significantly, after four weeks of workshop and three weeks of school, a faculty member retains this conception of principal role responsibilities in the context of a formal organization. In spite of policy declarations, "the principal is principal."

Hierarchical levels and pupil decision making

Kensington's formal doctrine, as well as the wishes of the individual faculty members, specified the aspiration that pupils would be able to make their own decisions. This plank buttressed the goal of the fully functioning individual. Without too much distortion one might argue that children must engage in and practice a variety of decision making experiences if this

is to be built into their educational roles or into their personality more generally. During one of the faculty meetings, the staff, through the efforts of Carla, almost raised the issue that elements in Kensington's organizational structure, the Institutional Plan, the total interdependence, and the team approach restricted the teacher's attempt to give the pupils more freedom.

Another important item was that several times Carla almost seemed to get them to consider the problem of the degree to which pupils could make decisions and the fact that the team structure sometimes inhibited that and, most certainly, the Institutional Plan inhibited it terribly. The interdependence phenomenon and the priority of group decision as opposed to faculty-team decision as opposed to individual teacher decision is a most complex problem that we need to spend a good bit of time analyzing. Can the Kensington goals of "fully functioning Freddy" be met as well with a team as with individual teachers who are committed to the philosophy and who work out their own means of getting there? (12/5)

Elsewhere we have commented that almost all of the experienced teachers on the staff raised this question to themselves, with their colleagues and with the research staff. The often cited anomie of the bureaucratic personality (Merton, 1957) who is bound by complex rules, e.g., someone else's prior decision has not been given serious consideration in the team teaching literature. As the field note excerpt indicates, this seems particularly true when one holds as strong goals pupil autonomy, decision making, and individuality. Kensington's doctrinal "upside-down authority structure" was critically tuned to these goals. The organization was hopelessly quagmired in faculty struggles for power in the context of teaming. The teams posed additional organizational hierarchial levels between the desire and the actuality.

Rules and the authority structure

Although rules are almost an unexamined phenomenon in classical educational psychology,⁴ organizational sociologists have been concerned about them. (Homans, 1950, Gouldner, 1954) Earlier, we reported on the list of rules established shortly after the move to the new building. One phase of this reappeared along with interpretations by the observer.

Another interesting phenomenon concerns the rule about no children on the mezzanine. As far as I know, this has not been violated at any time except once when one child was up helping straighten out the books. The most interesting aspect of this to me is that this is the only really clear rule that's ever been drawn dramatically and held through consistently by all of the I.S.D. people and Eugene alike. I have heard no complaints, no problems from the children that this was unfair or uncalled for or somehow impeded their activities. It might become the classic illustration for our argument of the fact that rules, in and of themselves, are not deleterious or fought when they seem reasonable, which means they fit into the prevailing individual schema and normative structure, and when there is generalized support among the staff for them. A strong orientation upon pupil learning and secondary orientation on such things as teacher privacy to help her prepare and get the kids ready to learn would clarify a good bit of the structure and process that exists in the organization as it now stands. (12/14)

The implications of the earlier negation of rules at Kensington are sketched in Figure 7.9.

Insert Figure 7.9 about here

Thus, as is indicated in Figure 7.9, while, in part, the source of

4. For a preliminary analysis of rules as belief systems in a slum classroom see the report by Smith and Geoffrey (1965).

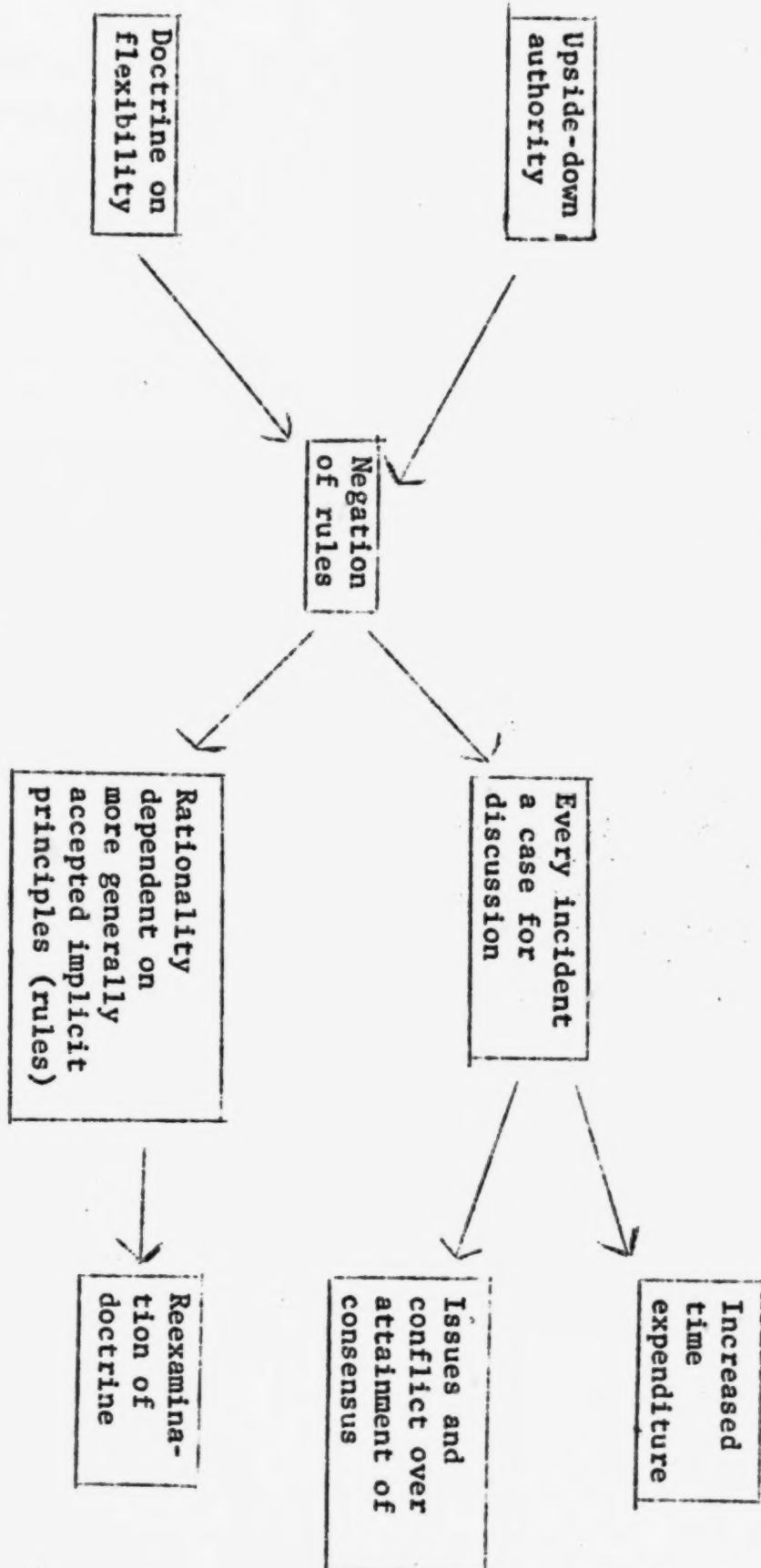


Figure 7.9. Implications of rule negotiation at Kensington.

the negation of rules was the doctrine concerning flexibility, in reality less flexibility resulted. The occurrence of here-to-fore unexperienced incidents became cases for group decision making, for there were few general or specific rules to which the faculty could appeal. The long and difficult hours repeatedly required to reach consensus increased teacher time expenditure for duties that typically an administrator would perform. This in turn meant less time for the preparation of instructional materials, which in lieu of the general absence of textbooks, was vital.

In December, two policy statements regarding rules were issued by the principal shortly after the move to the new building and after long trials and tribulation about "institutional decisions," "teaching decisions" and so forth. The immediate antecedents and consequences appear in Figure 7.10.

Insert Figure 7.10 about here

Responding to criticism from the central office, anxiety concerning pupil control problems, and in view of partial staff support for concrete guides, Shelby formulated the December rules. The reactions to the rules and the manner in which they were presented were varied. A member from the central office indicated that the rules seemed to reveal that the school was encountering severe problems. There was hostility from staff members who most closely identified with and adhered to the doctrine. The abrupt formation of the rules seemed in violation of written statements designating the faculty and pupils as the source of decisions such as those encompassed in the rules. Hence, the degree of acceptance and application of the rules varied. In turn, this made for differences in pupil behavior.

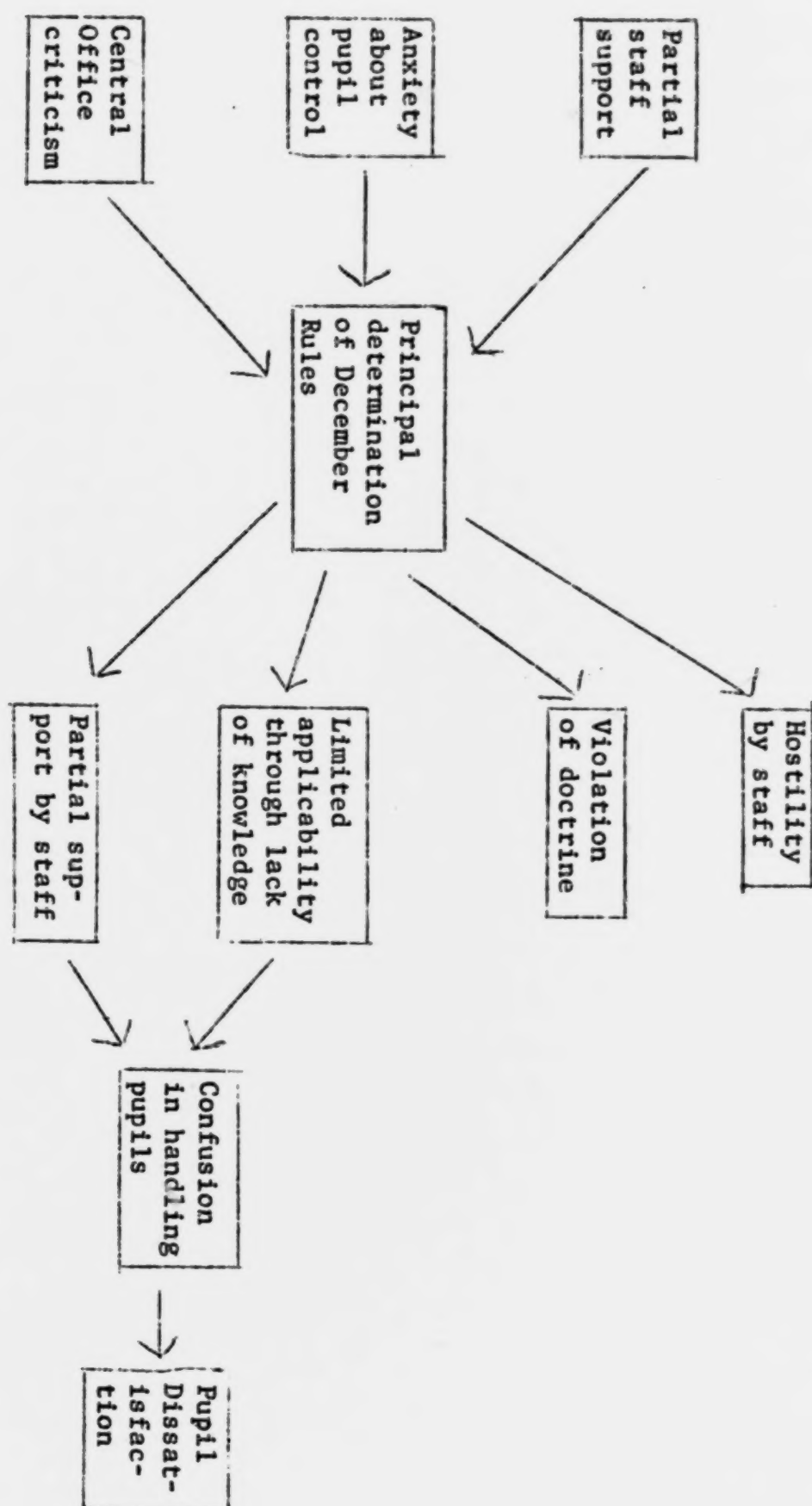


Figure 7.10. Antecedents and consequences of December Rules.

While the design of the building with a minimum of walls emphasized and increased pupil contact, the differing faculty interpretations and enforcement in their own semi-self-contained groups made for pupil confusion as students observed and interacted with those who were subject to a set of rules, at variance with theirs. While the faculty had more opportunity for contact with and more reason for disciplining others' pupils who wandered into their area, there was great probability that they would request the child to behave in accordance with rules which were not advocated and adhered to by his teacher. This led to both faculty and student dissatisfaction.

A complexity in the authority structure

Although Shelby spoke of pupil self-determination and though the faculty had considerable autonomy and engaged in terrible and trying struggles for power, there were issues in "final" authority which complicated the Kensington situation. For the observers these centered in the Institutional Plan and the veto, although other manifestations occurred. During the first week of the workshop, while the T-groups and related discussion were underway, casual references to the "Institutional Plan" began to arise. As we presented earlier in great detail, this was Shelby's conceptualization of the goals and organizational plan of Kensington. The latent conflict between the superintendent's directives to the staff, "the school is you," "go build a school," etc. and Shelby's thoughtful and provocative prior conceptualization never came to full consciousness and open debate within the staff. Considerable frustration existed when staff suggestions which ran counter to the plan were never operationalized

and implemented. Similarly, the occasional use of the word "veto" and the occasional practice of it were never the subject of clear and open discussion. The implications of this complexity on the maintaining "invisible but potent structure" described earlier, on the phenomenon of trust, and staff conflict seemed real, important, and far reaching.

Conscious focus on decision processes

Self-consciousness is a most interesting phenomenon. On the one hand, some social commentators indicate that the unexamined life is not worth living while other psychologists stress the fact that highly skilled performance (e.g., hitting a golf ball) requires one to "forget" the conscious rules (eye on the ball, overlapping grip, straight left arm, etc.). Kensington was highly self-conscious in all phases of its life, and particularly so in regard to its decision processes. The visibility or self-consciousness about the decision making process arose not only with the staff but also with the parents in the context of the parent council. The morning after the first Council meeting the summary notes contained an interpretive comment.

The Council president commented about the school picnic which he said would be a decision that would lie mostly in Mr. Shelby's hands, although Mr. Shelby would want some feedback from the school patrons on this. One of the teachers, who was sitting next to me, commented that "Eugene has them brainwashed." Incidentally, related to this point of who makes the decisions, Eugene has an ungodly flair for maximizing the visibility of that rather than minimizing it. It seems to me that this is very important, for as he makes it evident, it is almost a gauntlet that is being thrown and an individual, if he is to maintain his own self-respect and sense of autonomy, is going to challenge it and take issue with it. By leaving the final power as kind of a latent variable, you then can jockey back and forth and not draw the

lines as sharply as they always seem to get drawn. Somehow it seems like it keeps the working area for cooperation much wider.
(12/9)

A number of facets contributed to this self-consciousness--Mr. Shelby was intensely analytical; he was passionate in the pursuit of rationality. The staff was exceedingly able intellectually and could carry through abstract arguments. Many of the staff were young and were solving the developmental tasks of developing a professional perspective. The Kensington task was new and complicated, and it posed problems for which no ready guidelines existed. The mandate, "build a school," such experiences as the initial T-group, and such procedures as team teaching, focussed on analysis and self-consciousness also.

The consequences of this self-consciousness regarding decisions were multiple also. Perhaps the most important was a displacement of attention from the organizational task to be done to the process itself. Rather than just "pitching in and getting a job done" the staff was continuously pre-occupied with: Who had authority? Who has changed status? Is consensus necessary? Why is Mr. X deviating?, and so forth.

Related to this, was the heavy time and energy commitment which this meant that the faculty assume. In an absorbing and demanding teaching job, this was a considerable additional load.

Beyond highlighting the growing status dimension among the faculty of peers, it also produced an awareness of inconsistency within the Principal's relationships with the faculty. These were typified in issues we have called the institutional plan and in the veto power. The staff struggled with this, and yet, in spite of the high self-consciousness, could never get this clarified. The limits in their planning and the

conflict with the Institutional Plan, and those decisions which would be vetoed, were not clear.

A further consequence of such self-consciousness was the minimization of unanticipated latent dysfunctions of a substantive sort. As the faculty talked through issues they were able to anticipate many problems. Insofar as they then planned around the anticipated difficulties, the organization profited.

Figure 7.11 contains these relationships.

Insert Figure 7.11 about here

Professional autonomy

One of the major but perhaps underemphasized parts of the Kensington innovative thrust lay in the freedom which was provided the teaching staff. Often, this point seemed to be lost in the discussions of team teaching, ungradedness, individualized instruction and so forth. In some ways, the point seemed to be raised more frequently in the post experimental year contacts we had with faculty members who had left the school. As they described current positions and their contacts with their colleagues, the restrictions of principal fiat and central office directives rose as major items of discontent. At Kensington the formal doctrine, the authority structure, and the strong individual needs of teachers for autonomy and self expression led to a high degree of professional autonomy and freedom on the part of the staff. In turn, for some of the teachers feelings of satisfaction in teaching arose, numerous coordination and problems of staff conflict occurred, and quite varied styles of teaching--from

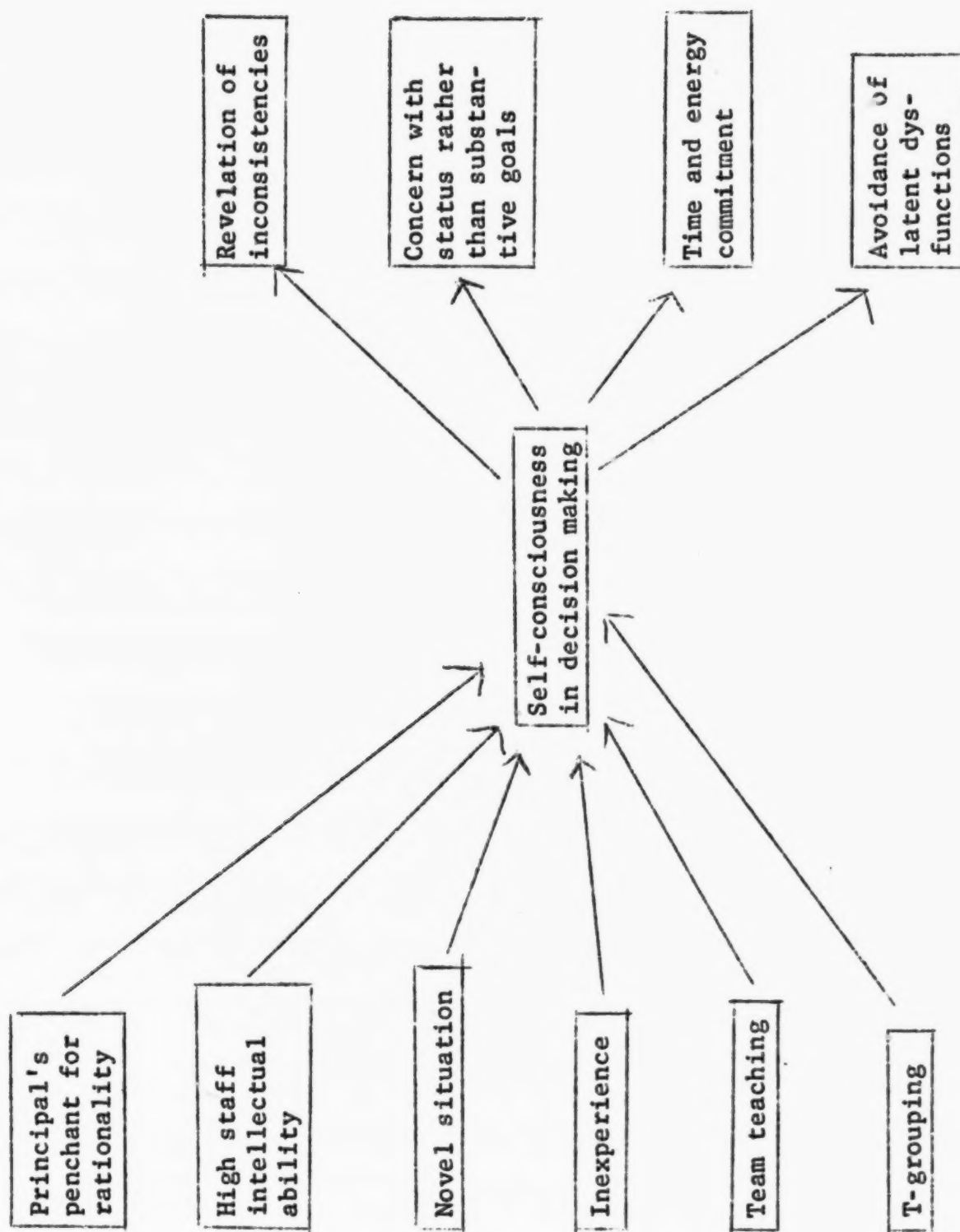


Figure 7.11. Theoretical relationships with self-consciousness regarding decisions.

Rousseau to fairly typical textbook instruction occurred. Much of the latter, the varied style, came in self-contained situations and often as an unanticipated functional consequence to inability to work a unit in teams.

Insert Figure 7.12 about here

Constitutional Arrangements: an Analytic Resolution⁵

All year, Kensington grappled with problems related to democratic administration, authority, and the locus of decision making. Administrative theorists in education also have stated the issue, even though not pursuing it intensively and analytically.

Note that the decision to invoke 'group decision' methods is itself a decision. The leader must also decide within what spheres group decisions will be permitted, and to what extent he will be bound by such decisions. Will the group's role be advisory, or will its decisions on every move be a mandate to the administrator. (Halpin, 1966, p. 36)

In a more general critique of T-groups Whyte (1953) almost discards the issue as inapplicable, at least in industry:

Still, let us not kid ourselves about group process in industry. When all is said and done in group discussion, it is up to the boss to make the decision and accept responsibility for it. A skillful leader will seek to avoid decisions that will needlessly antagonize subordinates. He will weigh their ideas and advice most carefully. And, when necessary, after he has made the decision, he

5. Our interpretations here are an important debt to discussions with Prof. Edwin Bridges who has utilized similar conceptions for the theoretical rationale underlying his experiments in educational administration.

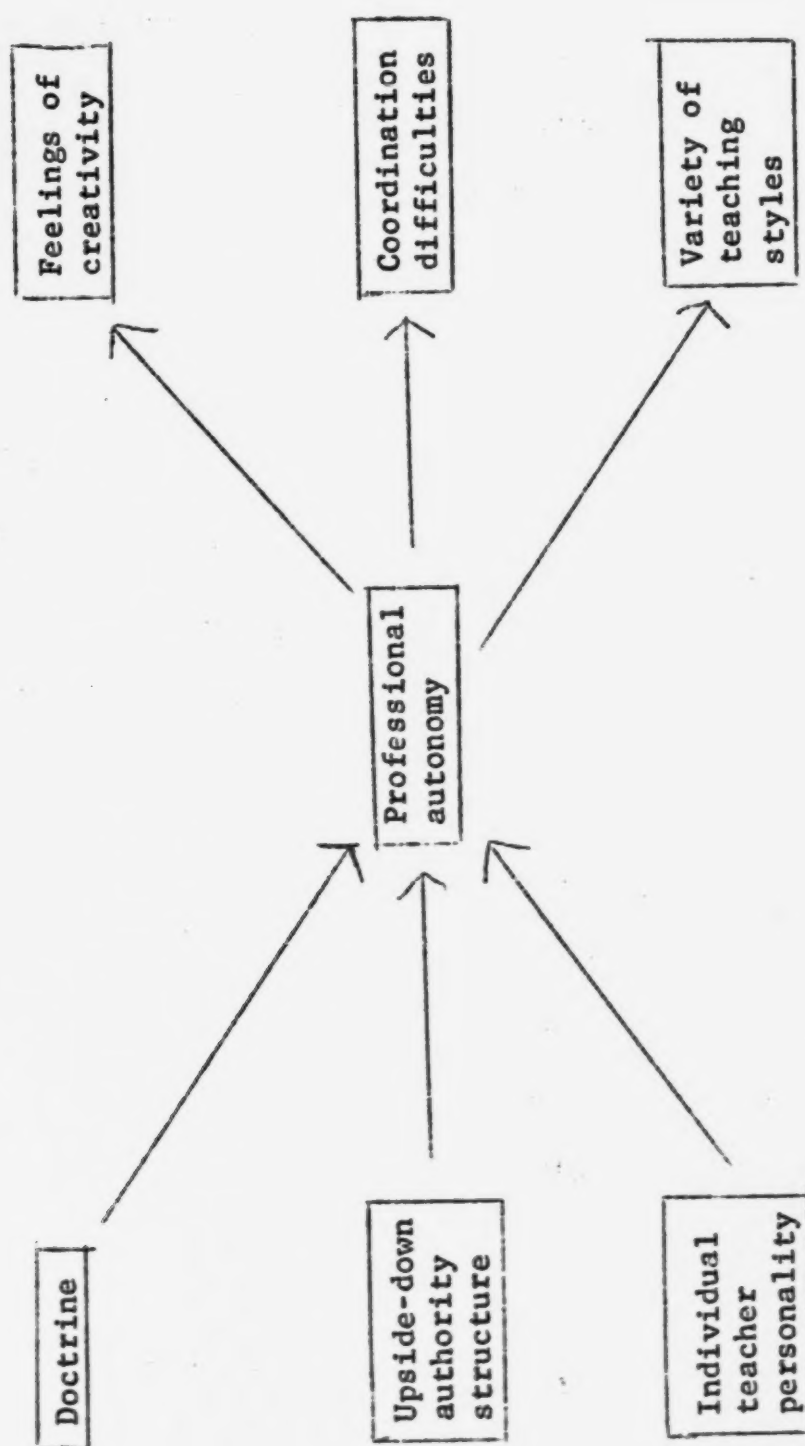


Figure 7. 12. Antecedents and consequences of professional autonomy

will seek for it the sort of support that comes from voluntary cooperation. (p. 42)

However, as we have tried to analyze and make sense conceptually of the issues, we have been struck by the potentiality in Swanson's (1959) concept of constitutional arrangements. It takes us farther than Halpin or Whyte in clarifying Kensington's problems. By constitutional arrangement, he means ". . .the social definitions that state a group's sphere of competence and the proper procedures for making and executing decisions." (p. 48). These procedures or rules of the game have much in common with our concept of group norms. Swanson stresses three kinds or modes of constitutional arrangements.

1. parliamentary: open discussion and debate, voting on individual issues, majority decides. Swanson argues that this is particularly applicable to groups with heterogeneous and often conflicting interests, with equal status of members, and with varying allegiances on specific issues. This arrangement provokes compromise on policy decisions and consensus on procedures.

2. participant determining: consensus obtained for both policy and procedures; assumes equality of members and no fundamental conflicts of interests. Tends to produce self-examination (individually and collectively), a decline in privacy, and display of emotional and personal needs.

3. democratic centralism: an elite body, or individual, has final authority to make binding decisions but he requires judgment and advice of subordinates.

Political sociology (Etzioni, 1966) suggests a fourth constitutional arrangement, a representational or multi-level consensus formation struc-

ture. In essence, smaller groups of persons settle differences and send a representative to a meeting of representatives who in turn reach compromises. Presumably this group of representatives may behave in any of the fashions suggested by Swanson. In his analysis Etzioni (1966) argues the value of this approach when conflict is serious, when interests are heterogeneous, and when numbers of persons are large. Illustratively, for us, the large numbers of pupils in a school are usually "represented" by their teachers in staff meetings. The principals represent their buildings in meeting with the superintendents. In Kensington two intermediate levels occurred--the divisions and the teams. As we have indicated Basic Skills contained two teams, Transition had one team and I.S.D. varied from one team to two teams to single classrooms during the course of the year.

As we have commented at several points, Kensington played by each set of rules at one time or another and at one place or another. The observer's notes of the first day in which the Division met indicates the thrust of "participant determining" (consensus), the implicit parliamentarian (voting) and the democratic centralism (the principal as the final authority).

I will give some random thoughts on the similarities and differences of the three groups that met separately today. Eugene sat in session with each of the divisions. The Basic Skills group met this morning from 11:00 until 12:00. Eugene opened each of the three sessions by saying that he was not in charge of the group. He explained that his role would be one of resource leader. He made this point in all three sessions. It appeared to me that he served this role best in the first session of the Basic Skills. In this session there was a normal give and take discussion. Eugene served the role of resource leader by answering only direct questions put to him. At times he would comment and then state that these were only his views that he was expressing and

that they might find it necessary to make changes in this thinking.

The next group that met was the Independent Study group. This was a very fiery session in which David particularly attacked Jack for what he felt was improper procedure in a group discussion. Jack began discussing the individualization of instruction especially as it pertained to the science area. After several comments on this topic, David challenged that this was premature and that they should better spend their time in learning to become a group. The action got rather fast and furious as David and Jack and eventually Bill entered into rather fiery comments on what should or should not take place in this opening session. Irma felt rather distressed that the time was being taken in this fashion and she would be much more inclined to discuss problems of a more practical nature. At one time she turned rather sharply on David. He had commented that if they desired, Bill and David could railroad the group. I feel David meant that anyone had the capability of railroading if they so desired but that this was not his intention. Irma, however, turned to him and said, "I believe you are overestimating your ability." During this session Eugene sided rather decisively with David in the turn of events that should be taken in this discussion group. It rather surprised me because I felt as principal Eugene would be wishing to get to the matters at hand, namely some very basic questions of just how they would operate, procedure as a team, the curriculum study, the manner in which they will implement the entire institutional program. Eugene wishes to have these bugs worked out of their relationship now so that they hopefully will be able to function as a team in a better fashion. He did not seem in any way disturbed at the turn of events and in my estimation assisted the agitation by seemingly backing David whenever he could. He did not in any way dominate this discussion. In fact, he was put back rather sharply on at least two occasions. Once Eugene interrupted Bill with a comment and David immediately snapped, "Let him have his chance to say. You've cut him off before he got to talk." At the conclusion of the session Eugene summarized the steps they had taken in their session thus far, throwing out the various things that had been discussed and naming the decisions they had made. At one time Eugene referred to a consensus that had been gathered on a particular point when Bill immediately cut him off with this comment, "That was not a consensus. That was one or two peoples opinion." Eugene immediately

backed off and said "Yes, that's right."

The third session to meet with Eugene today was the Transition group. This was in many respects a very different session from either of the other two. In this instance, Eugene dominated and took control of the situation. It, from the very start, had a question-and-answer type of atmosphere. The three people in the Transition group would ask and discuss questions of many different topics. They were of a practical nature, such as, What type of organization should we have with the children? How do we have an individualized reading program? What types of free library reading will we have? Just what do you mean by an individualized approach to education? etc. The reason for Eugene's handling this group in a completely different manner is not immediately apparent to me. (8/17)

Democracy in the public schools goes by many faces. Kensington, both in doctrine and practice, struggled mightily with each of these several views. Because there were several such sides to being democratic, some confusion seemed to prevail. At these points of doubt, well meaning individuals tended to doubt, to inhibit action, to seek clarification and to struggle to influence the course of Kensington's development. Which kind of democratic constitutional arrangement (if any), in what situations, and when in an organization's life seems an exceedingly important issue in a middle range theory of educational administration. If such a theory and its related empirical data had been well developed and available in basic and applied social science, Kensington would have been a very different organization.

Chapter Eight

The Innovative School

THE ALTERNATIVE OF GRANDEUR: A STRATEGY OF INNOVATION

When one begins to change a society, an institution, or a school, the system interlinkages present an ever increasing multiplicity of items open for change. This poses the decision of the degree of change to be attempted. Our observations of Kensington suggest that they chose what we have called "the alternative of grandeur": the change was to be pervasive. This decision had a number of important consequences. As we have stated several times, the strategies of educational innovation were not high in our initial research priorities although we were intrigued from the start with some of the specific innovative procedures, e.g., T-grouping, ungradedness, and team teaching. Nonetheless, our speculations on innovative strategy and tactics began to crystallize in September. Two early interpretations in the notes specify our questioning on Friday of the first week of school.

It is now 11:15; I've just had a short conversation with Dan who is supervising on the playground at Hillside¹ and a short conversation with Paul who has just come in from Basic Skills. Dan tells me that they have decided for the next few days to group heterogeneously into three smaller sections and each run what amounts to a self-contained program. Paul says that Chris told him that this was essentially because of the girls' desires and that Dan wanted to keep the large group going for a little while longer. Meg and Claire are upset around the discipline issue. With the large group they find that they have to be too autocratic and too directive and have

1. This is the public school where Transition was located during the first months of school.

to tell the kids to stop doing so many things. Neither one of them liked this. Dan commented also that they had not had time to plan and that they didn't have enough for the kids to do in the large group activities. He also said that it was very difficult to get any kind of sequence to the lessons. This seems to me to be the business of the textbook problem and the hit and miss "activity" type things. My own guess is that this group will not go back to any systematic team teaching, except for minimal kinds of things like music and maybe occasionally PE, because of the difficulty in implementing the areas. The question will come up then as to what sort of pressure is brought to bear by Eugene to react as they see the Kensington ideal.

It suggests also that the sequence for innovation might better be to play one's cards hard and strong, i.e., through the self-contained classroom, and then move step by step gradually into the shift. As it stands now the total shift has been overwhelming and the people have retreated.

(9/11)

The array of difficulties facing the Transition Division seemed to overwhelm them and force them back to more conventional kinds of adaptations. At this point, our theoretical analysis suggests that our concepts of unanticipated consequences and resources are vital to anyone contemplating change. The larger the change the more unanticipated events, and the more that is unanticipated the greater becomes the need for additional resources. The step by step gradual shift seems to temper this chain of events.

Implicit also in our in situ observation is a phenomenon which has received considerably less emphasis, "playing one's cards hard and strong," which seems to mean in more social psychological terms, maximizing one's rewards and credits. As a job is done well, it redounds, not only in minimizing the numerous new problems, but it also enables you to build esteem and positive affect among relevant others, pupils and staff. As this increases, one has a resource to spend on less happy, more difficult occasions. This resource amounts to willingness of participants to accept influence,

to discount occasional less adequate future performances, and a willingness to try and to initiate varied activities. Such a resource, so it seems to us, is not one to disregard lightly.

On Monday morning, September 14th, the observer, in contemplating the one self-contained class and the modified departmentalization in I.S.D., remarked this way:

There's no question but the school now is much more like a traditional school. There is an instructional program, of some sort, going on in each of the areas. In one teacher's judgment, this is the way they probably should have started and then as things worked out branched off into the way they wanted to go. This, as we've talked before, is perhaps the most interesting and strategic aspect of innovation that we've come across. It's what I would describe as building from one's strength and then moving into new programs as opposed to moving dramatically, whole-hog into new programs. (9/14)

As we have tried to analyze the change strategy, we developed Figure 8.1, implications of the alternative of grandeur.² We speculated that such an alternative is a high risk strategy with potentially large and immediate rewards. One makes the big gambit, by capitalizing on the initial possibilities and the high degree of system interdependence. If the pieces are finely honed and the machinery smoothly interlocked, the system takes off; if not, then the problems are momentous. In contrast, the gradualist alternative, especially when coupled with strength at the current equilibrium, maximizes the resources on smaller changes. The risks are more moderate. Success is a long time off and even then might not be easily visible. One can imagine the skeptic saying: "The organization's not much different and

2. In our concluding remarks we comment upon Etzioni's position on the two alternatives which he tersely phrases "aiming high, scoring low: aiming low, scoring high." (1966, p. 60)

always runs itself pretty well."

Insert Figure 8.1 about here

The Numerous Specific Innovations

The flesh and blood of the alternative of grandeur strategy lay in the specific innovations within the school. In a sense almost everything we have to say about Kensington might well fall into this section; however, as some items loomed larger we developed more extended analyses and enclosed them in self-contained chapters or larger sections. Primarily we will be accenting first a brief account of research in the public schools as an innovation; second, we develop a category we have called "innovation about innovation" wherein we deal with certain planned changes that were to facilitate other specific planned changes, or the more general process of change. Third, we cluster together the organizational and programmatic innovations. And fourth, we specify briefly some additional latent dimensions of the innovative physical facilities. In short, through the numerous specific innovations we isolate the part of the total fabric which was Kensington.

INNOVATIONS ABOUT INNOVATION

The Kensington program contained a number of innovative elements which were designed to facilitate the new program, the new organization for instruction, and the new physical plant. Tactics such as the protected subculture, the summer workshop, and the T-group experience were in large part

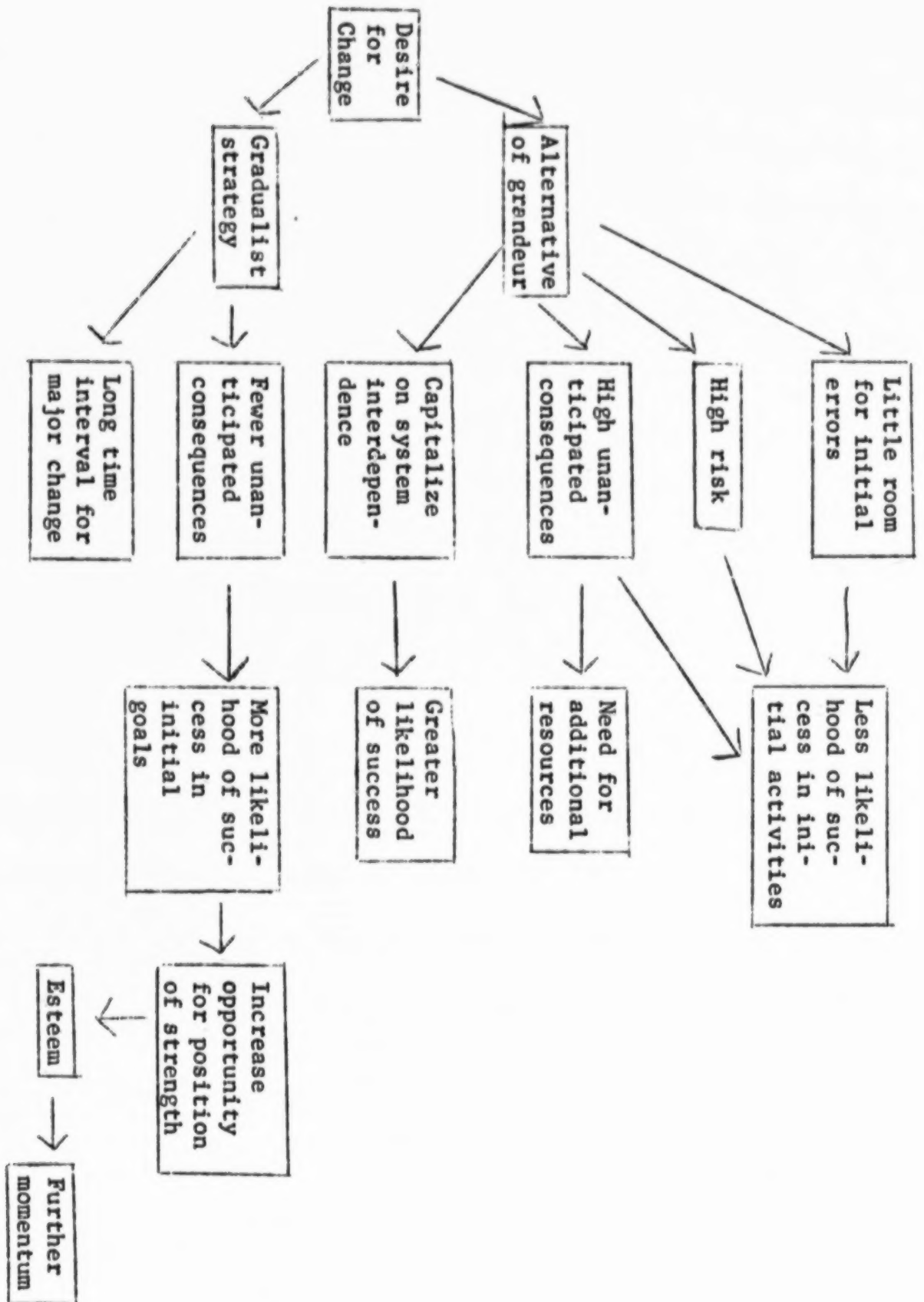


Figure 8.1. Implications of the alternative of grandeur.

elements of the overall alternative of grandeur strategy. They were designed to facilitate and extend this point of view about planned change in American education. Our analysis will treat them essentially as aspects of Kensington which had implications for the school as an educational organization.

The Protected Subculture

Throughout the early weeks of our stay at Kensington we heard references to the school as a "protected subculture." By this, it was meant that the school was to be isolated from the usual pressures, restraints, and directives which most elementary schools must face. By categorizing it as unique or different and by treating it this way, the school could develop without the blows and arrows of a hostile or critical environment. The analogy which arose in our eyes was that of a rare plant nurtured in the climate of a greenhouse, away from the onslaught of wind, hail, and lesser elements. More explicitly, the environment of a school is multi-dimensional and the protection in a positive and negative sense became that also.

First, the superintendent's office was totally supportive. "Build a school" was his only directive to the faculty in the summer. Second, a school is a part of a bureaucracy composed of policies, rules, and procedures. Kensington had a free hand from the usual curricular, program, and personnel requirements. As a protected subculture, Kensington was apart from these; they did not apply. Third, the majority of the school board had been convinced of the worthiness of the school's doctrine and the necessity of giving it a fair trial. A minority member or two attempted to stir up the community but the school was protected from his direct influence.

Fourth, while the Milford School District was beset with numerous problems and conflicts, and while Kensington was often cited at board meetings and in the newspapers as an exemplar of the community conflict, the direct pressures went no farther than this. The principal and faculty were protected.

Kensington's relationship with its own patrons could not be specified quite so clearly for the protective mantle was not intended to be applied pervasively. The school worked long and intensively with the parents in open meetings and in the Parent Council. These meetings frequently involved emotional confrontations, for a number of parents possessed continuing dissatisfaction with what they perceived to be the instructional program received by their children. A form of protection existed nonetheless for the superintendent and the board president. Both had children in the school and they both attended meetings "outside" their organizational roles. They came as supportive parents. Further, the patrons of the school knew explicitly, as did the patrons in the district more generally, that the central administration supported the school.

As we saw the situation, the protected subculture phenomenon was a major idea in the strategy of innovation of Kensington. The unintended negative consequences lay in the disruption of usual organizational chains of command, the authority relationships in the central office, and the unfavorable comparisons with other buildings and their staffs, especially the principals. This kind of status incongruency produced considerable negative sentiment and from these sentiments came some alleged minor sabotage and blocking of Kensington's program. Figure 8.2 contains this analysis.

Insert Figure 8.2 about here

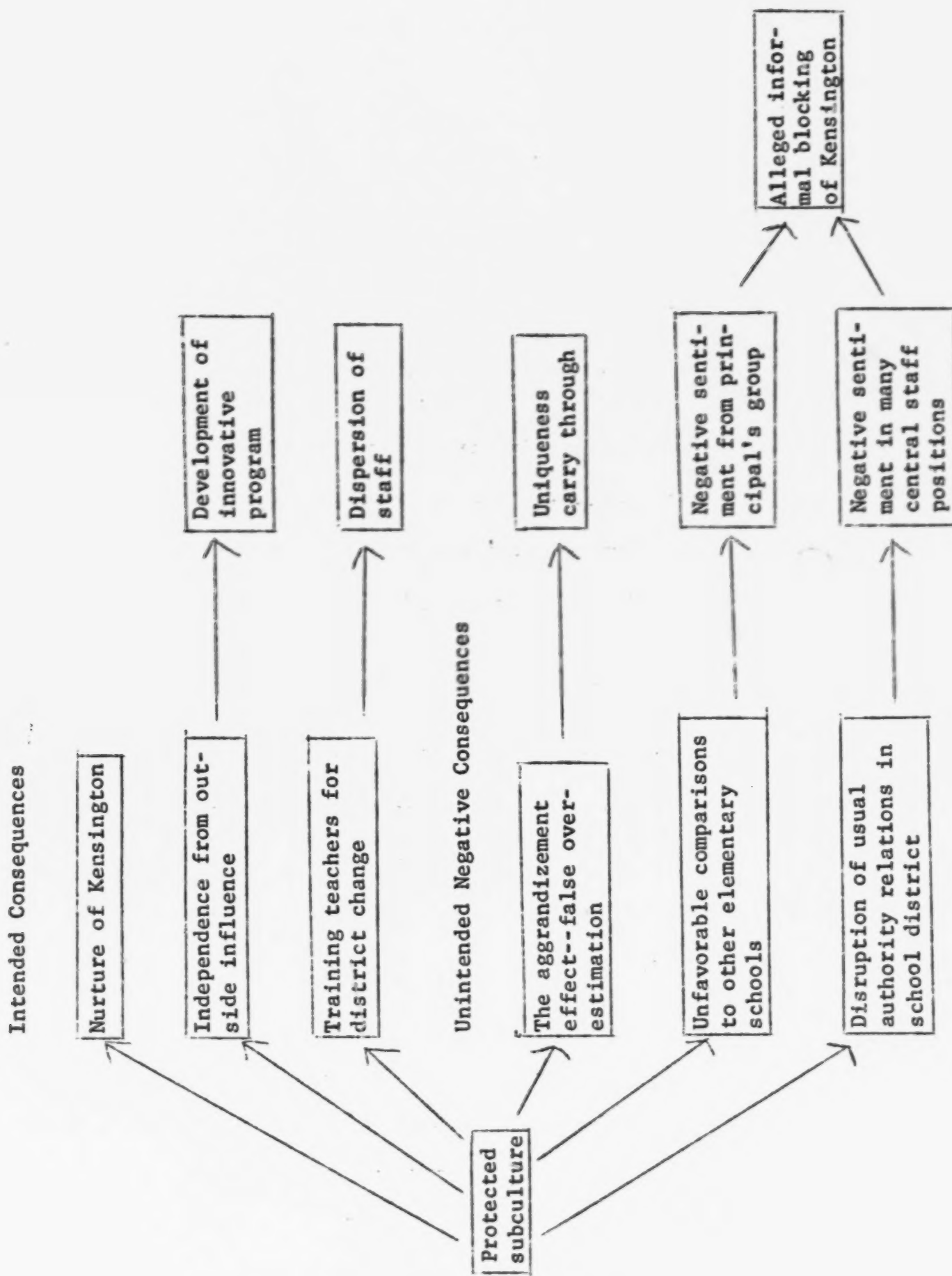


Figure 8.2. Consequences of the protected subculture.

The Deployment Center:

Dispersion of Staff into the District

Beyond being a protected island or enclave, Kensington was to serve a further role in District innovation. We heard about it in conjunction with comments on the uniqueness of the staff:

One of the teachers, in the course of these comments, raised the notions that in his early discussions with Eugene there was some talk of this being kind of a center in which people were brought through and then deployed out into other parts of the Milford District. This makes it a very different kind of situation in that regard also. (8/26)

The implications of this centered in part in contributing to the high enthusiasm and the belief that they, the staff, were the chosen ones. In this manner "innovations about innovations" contribute to our later analysis of "true belief in an innovative organization."

Inexperience

Kensington gambled heavily on inexperienced personnel to launch its innovative program. The decision seems to have followed from the two-horned dilemma of "initial training in desirable directions" versus "breaking old habits" and retraining into new directions. Such a two alternative decision could be increased at least two-fold: experienced teachers with personal desires for change, and a situation in which change is the dominant group norm. Both of these latter alternatives were in the Kensington blueprint--perhaps more than in most schools, but inexperience dominated. A number of the teachers, one-third, had had no teaching experience beyond student teaching. Also, and quite significantly, several of the experienced teachers were teaching an age level new to them, e.g., Wanda was a kindergarten, not

a first or second grade teacher; Mary had taught a fourth grade, not first or second. Jack's experience had been primarily secondary, and later, Lee Gage, who was a long term substitute, had been a secondary teacher. Significantly, two additional groups of adults, four teacher aides and three student teachers, a number equivalent to one-third the regular faculty, were inexperienced.

In mid-September, this issue and some additional researchable implications received interpretative comment in the field notes.

The other major question I have concerns the use of inexperienced personnel in the carrying out of innovation. A repertory of skills both substantively and in terms of group management seems absolutely mandatory for a person in a free situation of this kind. This was highlighted perhaps most dramatically by Liz this morning in that she did not have the materials which she needed. This, as we've argued, then limits the kinds of things that she can do. It also suggests that if a response sequence cannot be played out, then another sequence must be played out. She does not have these in her repertory. Consequently, as Paul noted this morning, she spent a lot of time on bulletin boards and communication boxes, etc. With her involved in the key area of reading, for which she's had limited training, there's going to be "hell-to-pay" there. Experience should give one a whole series of these repertories that you could turn to whenever other avenues got blocked. In effect, they give you ways to respond when the intended ways are no longer available. Trying to catalogue some of these, the sorts of situations and the ways that one can respond to them seems to be a much needed research problem. This could be handled experimentally in something like a creativity test where you list a problem and then ask the person to suggest the array of things that he would do. One could put them into an experimental role-playing or simulated situation where you make demands that they carry out some of these procedures. Seemingly, these could be developed with enough complexity and enough realism that they would be very valuable training devices as well as research devices.

(9/14)

As we have tried to think our way through the inexperience issue, several related but conceptually different aspects need to be isolated. The

inexperience in teaching was compounded 1) by inexperience in working together, 2) by being in a new organization without a normative structure, 3) by utilizing organizational patterns--teams and divisions with which no one was familiar, and 4) temporary facilities which were awkward--to say the least. These influences culminated in lack of clarity and in I.S.D. particularly, confusion. Figures 8.3 and 8.4 sketch these.

Insert Figures 8.3 and 8.4 about here

The contrasts in the various teams is critical on the experience-inexperience dimension. The I.S.D. problems can be contrasted with the Basic Skills-4 team. As we have indicated, the latter had two highly experienced and creative primary teachers, one experienced kindergarten teacher and one totally inexperienced teacher. Also, early in the semester they received additional help through the addition of a part-time highly creative and experienced staff member. This brought important resources. Also, Basic Skills, by its early split into two teams, settled its most factional quarrels. These aspects belong, however, to another part of the story.

A Staff Unknown to One Another

Kensington's staff came from throughout the middle western part of the country. Only a few of the people had known one another before. This, too, was an educational innovation of significant magnitude. When one has purposes embodied in a significant break with past traditions, a plausible means is to bring together an aggregate of staff who then would be welded into a new unit. Perhaps the most significant unintended result of this

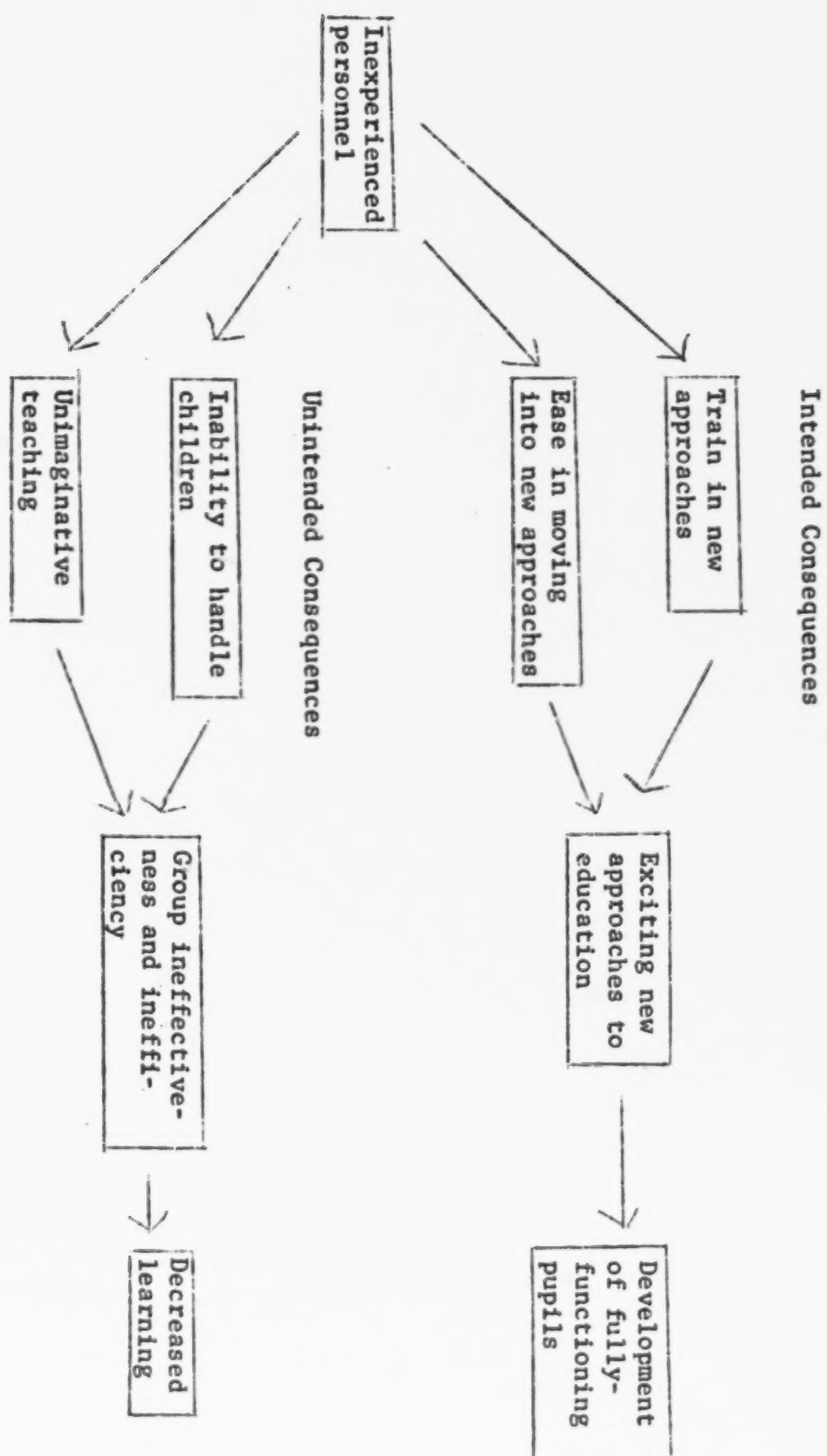


Figure 8.3. Implications of inexperience in teaching.

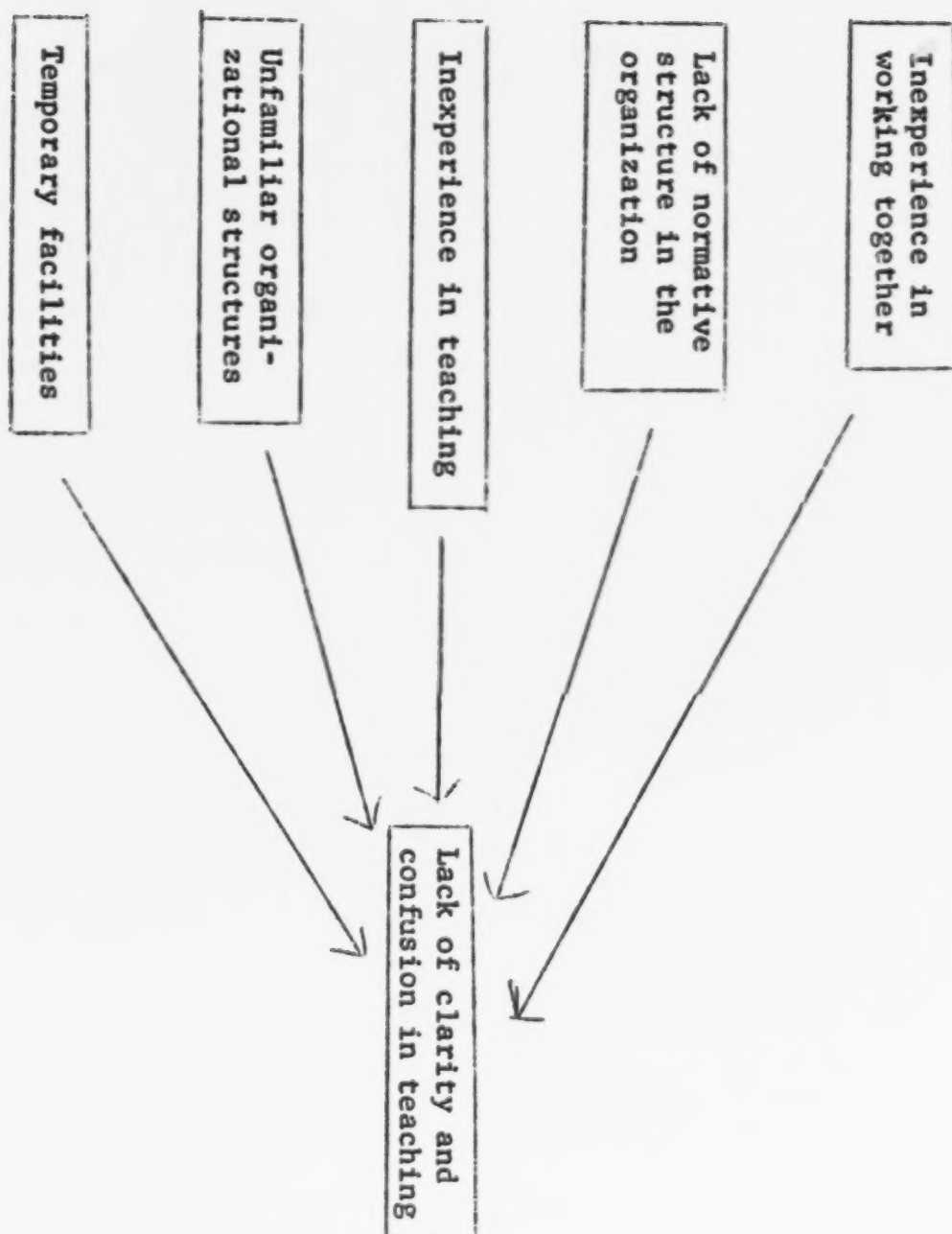


Figure 8.4. Antecedents of lack of clarity in procedures.

was the underestimation of the time it takes and the problems involved in building an aggregate of teachers into a workable group. The complexities involved in the individual personalities attracted to a new enterprise such as Kensington (see our later discussion of true belief in an innovative organization) and the particular patterns of socialization, workshop and T-groups, are difficult to tease apart. Much of the discussion of issues in cooperative working together, e.g., the exploration of who can do what, whom one can trust, whom one likes, we have put in our discussion of team teaching. Figure 8.5 contains the consequences of the staff new to one another.

Insert Figure 8.5 about here

Total Staff Summer Workshop

To the knowledge of the investigators, a month's workshop for a total staff of an elementary school is an unheard of phenomenon. At Kensington, as we described in Chapter One, it was a reality. The intended consequences lay in building the staff into a smooth-working unit and developing concrete teaching plans for the year. As it turned out, neither of the objectives was accomplished to a high degree. The T-group impact we discuss in more detail later. A second issue needs to be mentioned, the possibilities and problems in the language available for talking about teaching. At this point in time, the education profession, both its science and art, remain so much a personal kind of experience that it is difficult to talk productively about it without having concrete common experience. The language is very inexplicit and carries so many multiple referents for each term that it is

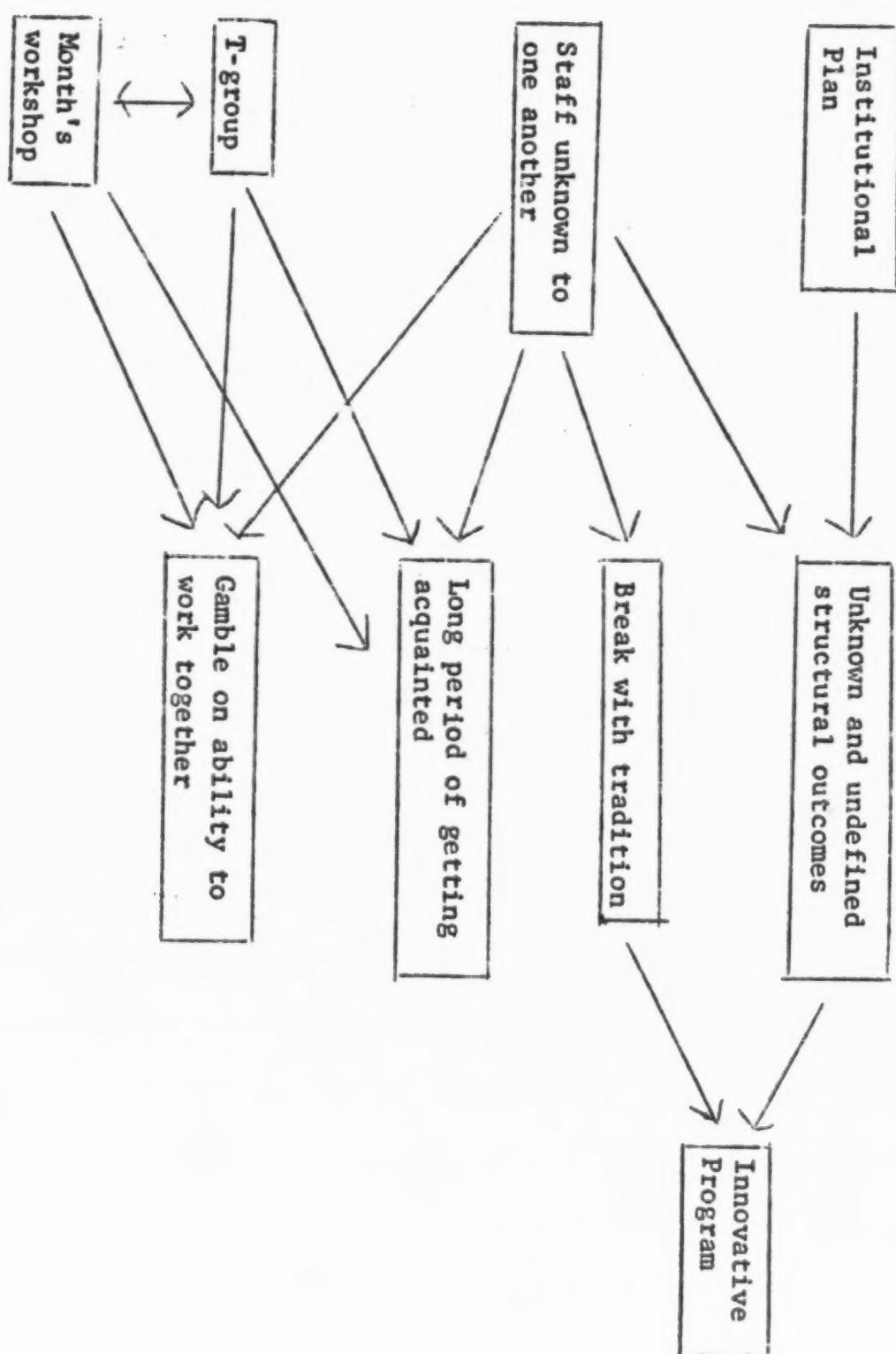


Figure 8.5. Aspects of the "Staff unknown to one another."

not until one is in the concrete situation that the intended meanings become clear. Not until this point does one translate into behavioral terms of who says what and who moves where in what specific situation.

The kinds of workshops--their objective, content, organization, participants--need considerable analysis and empirical investigation for most educators, we would guess, see them as highly desirable, without regard to form, and only restricted by limited funds. Our data would suggest that "the total staff summer workshop" does have a time and place. Kensington's was not as productive as one might hope.

The Staff Bulletin

Between August 11th and June 2nd, sixty bulletins to the staff were issued. Once again we do not have normative data, but our impression is that few elementary schools utilize such a procedure as this, and in those that do, the number of the bulletins is much less than the $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per week issued at Kensington. The principal wrote most, if not all, of the bulletins. The content varied from an array of minor administrative matters to announcements and summaries of important meetings and events in the life of Kensington. In general, the faculty was apprised of the many events of which they or the school was a part.

Consultant Services

Once again norms are not available for explicit comparisons, but Kensington seemed to receive amounts of consultant service far beyond the usual elementary school. The T-group trainers were present for a week, Leslie Roberts spent the equivalent of several weeks at the school, and varied

persons were available from the many commercial companies who loaned or gave materials to the school. Without question these people had impact on the school. In the view of most of the staff the results were a mixed blessing.

T-Grouping: an extended analysis of innovation

Initial Outcomes

Of all the analyses and interpretations, the one we hesitated over most involves the T-groups. As we have argued elsewhere, our intent has been to create hypotheses which fit our case, our accumulated field notes. The hypotheses are offered then for wider testing and verification. In most areas we have not had axes to grind regarding organizational theory. This does not hold true, as we have indicated, for the T-group phenomenon. Nonetheless, we present the analysis as our best effort to conceptualize T-group experience with an aggregate of staff new to each other, yet on their way to becoming a working unit.

Our problem of putting additional meaning in the interpretation of the week's experience begins in the phrasing of the issue. Instead of asking the simple question, T-groupings--pro or con?, we would ask, "What happens to an organization when the participants come together for the first time, engage in T-group activities for a week, and then must work intimately together for the next ten months?" To the best of our knowledge (Miles, 1959, Bradford, *et al.*, 1964, Glidewell, 1966) research has not been directed to this kind of problem. Miles (1964) in his discussion of temporary systems presents a taxonomy which includes temporary staff and client, and permanent

staff and temporary client but does not present the quasi-temporary system in which the client is permanent but the staff is temporary, actually the more usual consultant case. Nor does he handle the special case of the time at which the meeting occurs in the history of the organization. The intent of our discussion is to describe and interpret this special case of T-group experience.

Move toward informality

The T-group experience was new to the members of the Kensington faculty. In the judgment of the observers, the experience was dramatic and influential. For instance, while informality was built into Kensington in a variety of ways, the T-group experience contributed to this. As we have indicated, at the first meeting the faculty was grouped vertically into two groups, and the Principal was a member of one group. It was at this point that he shifted his role to that of a peer, a member of his group. During a meeting containing a discussion of status barriers and problems accompanying them, he gave them their option to call him whatever they felt most comfortable using. One of the members quickly suggested that they call him by his first name; this was accepted by members of both groups, and throughout the year, the Principal was addressed by his first name.

This move toward informality had its limits, however. The Principal's formal position was a factor impossible to overcome totally.³ This is true, we think, because of the complexity of the special authority role, which we

3. Independently of our analysis, our colleague Professor Edwin Bridges neatly tested experimentally a similar conception and found the same inhibiting effect of the elementary principal with his staff. (Bridges, 1966).

analyze in detail later, and partly because of the perceptions teachers have of principals. The summary notes reporting on the conversations between the observers reflect this:

I have had little chance to talk with Eugene about the progress of the workshop, or, for that matter, about anything else in the program. Paul tells me that the principal's presence in the other group raised considerable difficulty with the group's progress. When they split into small sub-groups and he was not in one group, that group made tremendous progress in discussion and moving toward a series of analyses. (8/12)

Public testimonials

Early Tuesday morning, the observer recorded several items of interest:

Follow-up comments on yesterday seem necessary. One of these centers on the selection of people for the school. While I haven't had a chance to check it out carefully in the field notes,⁴ it seems to me that almost everyone has made a testimonial of some kind of extreme faith in the new school and what it is trying to do. The contrast here with the group of teachers at the Washington School⁵ is also very, very marked. The cruciality of this variable should not be neglected and should be highlighted in the general write-up of the report. It, coupled with the Principal's enthusiasm and with his own very unique conception of the nature of elementary school organization and instruction, is very, very critical too. (8/11)

Our interpretation suggested that the T-group experience provided an opportunity for making public, deeply-held feelings and beliefs. As we indicate elsewhere, the staff selection in an innovative school, the sentiment of

4. The reference here is to a split between ~~Field Notes~~, a stenographic in situ account, and Summary Observations and Interpretations, lengthy dictated notes made at various times of the day but out of the setting.

5. This is a reference to an earlier intensive analysis of a classroom in a slum school (Smith & Geoffrey, 1965).

enthusiasm, and the Principal's Institutional Plan were salient early.

Personal revelation

As we have indicated, the T-group experience was dramatic and influential. One aspect included what we have called personal revelation, the offering of intimate details of one's personal life.

The morning T-group session and the afternoon T-group session each had its dramatic high point. In the morning it involved a fracas between several members. One individual was opening himself up, catharsis fashion and another made an interpretive comment which cut right through to the nature of his personality functioning. This material was on tape and the leader cut in about this point, indicating that it was much more clinical and therapeutic than processual and it had gone beyond the limits of what she felt qualified to handle. Feedback this afternoon from Paul indicates that another member thought that she shouldn't have turned off the tape recorder. His feeling was that it was personal but not disabling and that she couldn't handle the material intellectually rather than emotionally. Paul also reports the other group perceives our group as having all of the aggressive leadership and the fireworks. They feel that there isn't any leadership in their group. Paul sees this as centering around the inhibiting role of Eugene. Paul reports also a noon conversation in which one member was very angry in talking with another about the salary revelations that have occurred and the fact that he was under misinformation.

(8/12)

Not only were there personal details of one's self system, but also there were discussions of several kinds of salary negotiations--extra pay for the workshop and breaking the fixed salary scale (years of experience and amount of training) in order to attract some of the staff. One might say, the T-groups legitimated individual catharsis.

Emotionality

Many items could be utilized to illustrate the principle that the

T-group provokes high emotionality among its members. One part of this occurred as the leader interpreted a group member's behavior and pushed toward insight and resolution. In the summary notes that evening the observer recorded the episode in this fashion:

Perhaps the most dramatic incident occurred late in the afternoon when the leader began interpreting some of the behavior of the members of the group. She accused one member of not learning from his experience of yesterday and taking over the group again at noon, as he had, and making decisions for the group. This led to a good bit of defensiveness on his part and soon opened up another who commented how angry he had been at this. He related how he hadn't said anything and he wasn't going to say anything all afternoon and how he had responded only upon the direct request of the first. He was mad at himself for doing this also. The leader "egged them on," with more interpretation and also urging, to have the second ask the first how he felt rather than just assume that the first would be unhappy if the second had made a comment. This took three or four urgings. A number of people chimed in during this.

Later, one member ultimately called them all "chicken" for not wanting to fill out the questionnaires. The leader made a very dramatic interpretation of a third's behavior which was rejected almost completely. The field notes should contain most of this. At the close of the meeting, the first commented to the second that he hoped they could sit down and talk today for a while because they were going to have to work together all year this year. Most everyone seemed to be provoked at each other or at the whole training program by the time the day was over. As Paul and I were driving home he commented about much of the general hostility that existed in the other group and how most of it seemed to be directed toward the leader rather than toward each other. As far as I can tell, very little hostility is directed toward the other leader at this time. (8/12)

In more summary fashion the observer noted on Thursday of the first week:

Another notion which may be in the notes already is the feeling of mine about the degree of affect that you can generate in this kind of approach. Just what the inde-

pendent variable is within the technique itself, I don't know.
(8/13)

The degree of acquaintance

As one might suspect from our discussions of testimonials, high sentiment, and personal revelation, the group produced also an intimacy, a high degree of acquaintance among the staff. The observer reflected on the contrast in this and a group workshop of which he had been a part.

Another phenomenon that really hit me was the discussion that several of the staff had during one of the small group sessions. The depth and the ease with which they could talk with one another at this point is truly very remarkable. The function of the T-group in having people share a variety of more personal and intimate aspects of their lives as they bear upon the school creates, or at least seems to create in this particular instance, a kind of Bill Mauldin Up Front degree of rapport, for they have been at war and have fought together. They were pretty sick of having so much small group-connected things and Sue particularly commented that she wants to go off for a month without any connection with the group. Bill Kirkham is talking about possible kinds of sedition which he can engage in, which strike me as very unusual for him, although it might not be. This might be contrasted with another group I participated in which in some respects never did get far enough along after six weeks to discuss very well together.
(8/13)

Thus, in an instance where a staff is unacquainted, a training group experience seems to be a method whereby participants may learn certain aspects of one another in a relatively short time. However, over-involvement in the intimate, personal facets of group member's lives seems to be a hazard. Later, as is noted elsewhere, these intense personal dimensions seemed to often reappear as obstacles in working together.

The T-Group's Longer Reach

The T-group experience, as we have described it, was a potent experience during its week of operation. In our judgment, its potency reached far beyond the first few days. In this section we trace out the further implications, the consequences of the experience. As we have described in our methodological section the ultimate test of our interpretation must lie in the accumulation of similar cases and ultimately in experimental analysis. None-the-less we can relate data of events from our note books and our interpretations at the time, and now, upon later reflection.

Content-less-ness of the T-group ?

We would argue that the T-group has a special kind of content rather than being content-less. At Kensington what it seemed to do was to cause some people to "play out their hands" in an unfamiliar game or in an unfamiliar way. In general this then set up a social structure which was not transferable to the central tasks of the elementary school, even an innovative one such as Kensington. Our initial speculations are mixed with earlier problems and several lines of focus:

This is another aspect of the T-group experience that intrigued me very much. Insofar as there is not an agenda, the major resource, to use their term, upon which one can draw is an individual's own identity, stability, and general empathy. There may be some other factors such as one's more self-oriented needs. The kind of thing I think I'm saying is that you may get a selection of some kind of an index of maturity coming out of this kind of group which typically you don't get as quickly or as dramatically, if at all, from other groups. Once again, Tom seems to be the guy who is coming out on top in this. My guess is that Kirkham is not able to do this and that he is much more visible as some-

body trying to feather his own nest and push his own status. That may be more my own personal bias than the group's bias although I doubt it. His 'take charge' kind of attitude, which may have been very effective in rural Ohio somehow just is falling flat here. His deflation is apt to provoke some very serious problems.

My interest in seeing the development of a faculty social system is coming to pass in very fine fashion. It makes me wonder how much of this kind of thing occurred at some distant point in the past at the Washington School downtown. My guess is that once the group had achieved some kind of initial stability, the sort of thing that I witnessed regarding Mr.⁶ Alton is about as close as this would ever come. The individual must struggle with the group rather than struggle with the aggregate as the aggregate tries to become a group.

I would have some real questions as to whether this is the best kind of experience to start off with, or whether it would be better to work a week and then have this and then work a couple more weeks. Paul and I raised a point somewhat similar to this when we talked about having some subject matter much less sensitive than the individuals' own egos and the developing group structure as the immediate task at hand. This just loads the dice for a high affective involvement and possibly the setting up of hostilities and sensitivities that will be forever in getting dissipated. It's an interesting question as to whether there are any data whatsoever on the T-group experience as it applies to a new group which is not an ad hoc group but which will have long-term continuing relationships with one another. Also this was a new experience for the training staff. Lois, the first Sunday night, said that she had never worked with a group exactly like this in just this kind of situation. Lynn had not either.

We have spoken to the high emotionality of the T-group experience.

The serious problems with Kirkham were described in Chapter One. The consternation over task focus versus process focus remained throughout

⁶ Once again the observer plays the new data against the earlier project (Smith and Geoffrey, 1965). Alton is a teacher who tended to be rejected by his peers.

the year.

The Process-Substance Dichotomy

When approaching a new task such as starting a school, people vary in their preferences. Some want to explore verbally the totality and some want to begin on a particular concrete problem and let this take them to the more general issues as well as to other concrete problems. In retrospect, this variation in style of approach to large significant novel problems seems to be a most important dimension of human personality. One facet, although not the central aspect, was caught partially in the observer's notes in the Sunday night planning session:

Another item that occurred which left me a little bit uncomfortable was the lack of concern about the immediate desires of the people for a lot of information about the new school and about what they would be doing and how they would be doing it. Eugene has put this off until the second or third week rather than having it in the first week. This is a very interesting commentary on the staff as the staff perceives him for the moment. It will be interesting to see how much of this keeps cropping up in the discussions as we go along. Lois' notion here was that informational questions could be treated and answered as they arose. She had not bought the cult so directly that she felt it was impossible to do this. Lynn was even more open about it and talked about the value of having an informed member who could act as a resource on certain questions of fact. (7:00 A.M. 8/10)

Ultimately what was created was a schism between those faculty members who wanted to talk about the school in general, its objectives, its ideology and its broader contribution and those who wanted to talk about specific roles, specific duties, and day-to-day items of "what am I going to do?" A variety of dimensions seem to run through this: the realist versus the idealist, the practical versus the dreamer, substance

versus process, and deductive versus inductive.

A major hypothesis we would offer states that neither the global nor the concrete leads to "better" solutions. In effect we would argue that each ultimately digresses into the other, in the give and take of group interaction. Essentially there are assumptions of compromise, taking turns in expressing opinions and points of view, and freedom to participate. Our data suggested that the T-groups accented one line of approach. In effect it provided a normative pattern by reinforcing the processual or generalist element, and delaying and frustrating the concrete and substantive individuals. This tended to develop sub-groups, to make the easy give and take more difficult, and to set the occasion for serious conflict which was to erupt in the Kirkham incident.⁷ The notes suggest this:

At noon I had a brief conversation with Bill about his experience in the T-group. He has never done this before and the way he talked left it clear that he wasn't very happy with it. Paul told me that his conversations with Jack, Bill and Dan indicated that they also were getting concerned about having a whole week of this when in their eyes there was so much work to be done. I did talk briefly with Dan at lunch and he commented about the concern for group process without regard for content. He argued that the kind of content, or what I would call the task, would probably make a good bit of difference in the way in which the activity was carried out. He wondered about how generalizable the experience would be in that regard. As far as I know, he hasn't taught except for practice teaching.

One of the more interesting things that happened in the discussion this morning concerns David's holding to the notion of getting the objectives laid out before

⁷As we indicate elsewhere this was considerably more complex than our initial sketch here.

you can talk about the specifics. On the one hand it seems to me that this is a very sensible way to make decisions and lies behind some of the comments that we are making in our analysis of decision making. It also strikes me as a strong intolerance for the fact that some people have to operate in a different style. (Specifically, Jack Davis' interest in going from a set of concrete examples to a more general framework.) If you like, one could make a case that this inductive approach is actually more in accord with the Kensington set of goals than actually starting out rationally with a broad set of goals. Later Jack raised the possibility of people retaining convictions and holding to action which makes the compromise move along. This issue was one that got considerable discussion earlier and one in which they couldn't reach any fundamental agreement upon. This fits in with the earlier one in that David seems unable to accept other people's methods of approach and make compromises and work with them. My guess is that he would interpret this as a lack of authenticity and also a lack of being his real self. This kind of inability could lead to real havoc with the Independent Study Division. (8/12)

In Figure 8.6 we try to encapsule the argument. The T-group experience in conjunction with the problem solving styles formalized the dichotomization of the staff and introduced serious frustration to the "inductives." This in turn led to intense staff conflict and helped precipitate what was to be a permanent schism in the I.S.D. division and the ouster of Bill K., which we have called the Kirkham incident.

Avoidance of the mechanics

One of the consequences of the T-group experience, the doctrine, the enthusiasm, and the biases of several of the influential persons on the staff was an avoidance of the procedural means, the "nuts and bolts" issues, as the staff came to call them.

A number of items came up late this morning and over lunch. For instance, at the lunch hour I raised the direct question. at seemingly an appropriate time, as

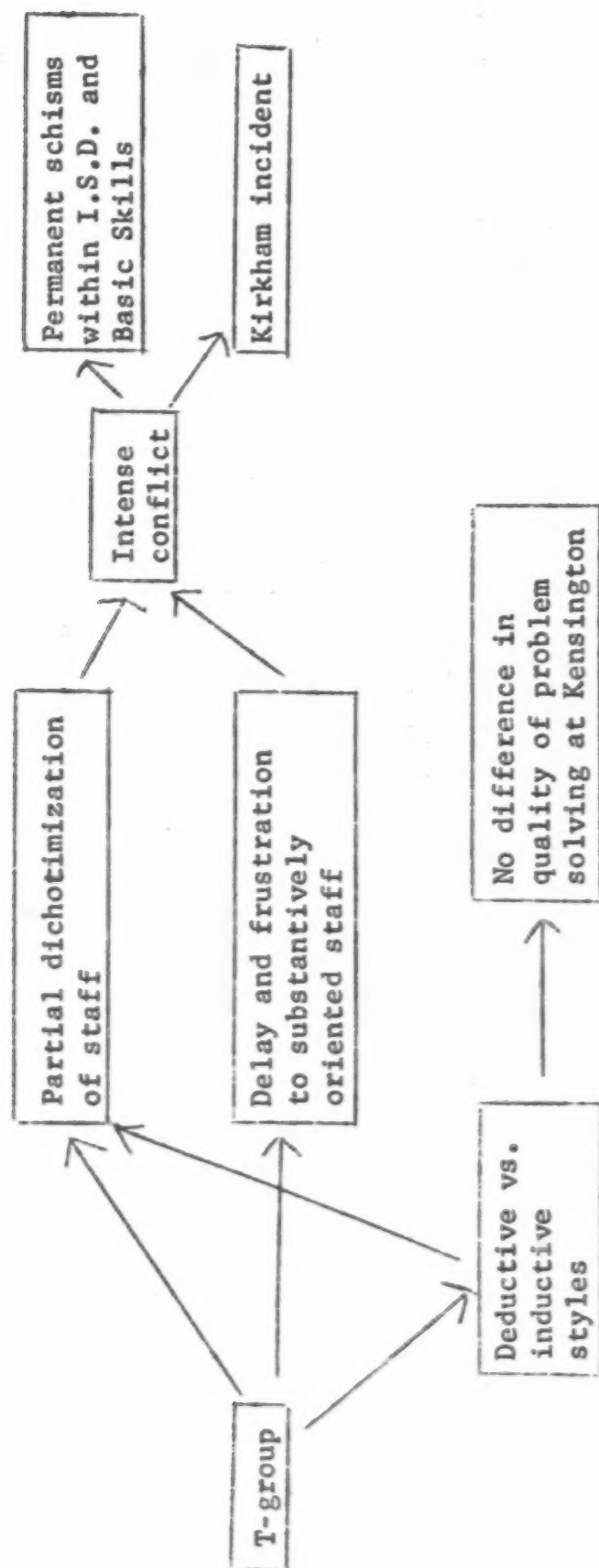


Figure 8.6. Initial implications of T-group experience and the deductive-inductive or process-substance dichotomy approach to problem solving.

to whether there would be report cards at the Kensington school. None of the group, Tom, Bill, David, Liz, Alec, or Jack knew whether there would be report cards. They are all, or nearly all, operating at the assumption that the cumulative records with anecdotal comments and work samples would be used to show the parents the kinds of things that the children are doing. No-one has any notion as to who would carry out the parental conferring. As they responded, no-one in the group seemingly has thought much about it or tested it out very extensively. There also is no clarity on articulating with other schools for transfers in and transfers out. (8/19)

Later that same day the observer commented:

Another point that keeps coming up and reflects my own bias about organization and administration is the need for mechanisms to attain certain kinds of goals or ends. This was perhaps best illustrated in a discussion this morning with Sue and Liz and Alec about the phenomenon of an overlapping interest and the integration of knowledge being presented to the students. Several people involved in the conversation were all agreed that it was important to be done; that is, the objective was. There was some agreement that part of it was a function of a basic attitude that would prevail throughout the school. There was general agreement on this also. But, there was little awareness of what I would call the mechanisms to help make this happen. Specifically, I would mean the kind of planning that would go on, the kind of distribution of time, of the teachers and the students, the pinpointing of responsibility for initiating and following through on agreements, and so forth. This may be part of the negative transfer from last week. But, as far as I can tell, there is practically no concern on the part of the younger people about this phenomenon. There seems to be some pleasant assumption that once we all get to know each other, then it will automatically happen. This is precisely what I don't agree with. Perhaps this reflects my more general concern for the mundane. There are some exceptions to this in the Independent Study Division. I think the major people who would take exception are Jack and Irma and perhaps Alec. The Basic Skills Division might also be exempt from this. The Transition people have not really spoken enough for me to know. Perhaps the more significant notion is

that there is a time and place for both. People who are resisting, feel that we haven't gotten to that time or that place as yet. (8/19)

As our early descriptive chapters indicated, the workshop time did not progress rapidly and easily with these concerns. Critical procedural decisions were being made late in the August workshop.

Individual Captivation

While the T-groups captivated several of the staff, David found it most congenial. It permitted him to engage in broad philosophical discussions, explorations in quest of self-understanding, and entry into close personal relationships with fellow staff members. The approach to learning, which the unstructured position provided, fit his point of view in working with children. Informal relationships between teacher and student, minimal didactic or usual instructional behavior with large groups of children, and internal motivation for learning. It blended neatly with his perception of the Kensington doctrine of individualized instruction and gave a substance to the vaguely defined role of academic counselor. As our descriptive account indicated it led also, during the first week to a new element in the I. S. D. program, T-grouping or group processes with the children. The intent here was to aid them in exploring their interpersonal relationships which, in turn, would enable them to function more fully as individuals and as members of I. S. D. teams.

Summary

In our judgment the T-group experience is a very potent technique. The timing within the year, the close relationship to parts of the formal doctrine, and the salience for individual staff members were part of

the context. The implications were both immediate and long term. A number of our most significant hypotheses regarding this innovation at Kensington are summarized in Figure 8.7.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROGRAMMATIC INNOVATIONS

In its many forms, Kensington's doctrine indicated that the organization and program of the school was to be different from the usual elementary school. The myriad of innovations in Education were to be intertwined in a significant totality. The range of changes varied from such small procedural matters as "pupil logs," their records of activities, to such major events as the "individualized curriculum." In this section we present an interpretation of a number of these. The major analyses focus on Kensington as a non graded school and team teaching as a means of organizing the staff.

Kensington as a Non Graded School

The graded elementary school, an invention of the 19th Century and the standard organizational pattern of the 20th Century elementary school, was abandoned at Kensington. In its place were three divisions: Basic Skills, Transition, and I.S.D. Their goals, as indicated earlier, were training in basic skills, and the 3 R's, and a transition from this to independent study. While formal "gradedness" did not exist at Kensington, several comments are in order. The Basic Skills Division worked with 6 and 7 year olds. Approximately half of these children possessed some

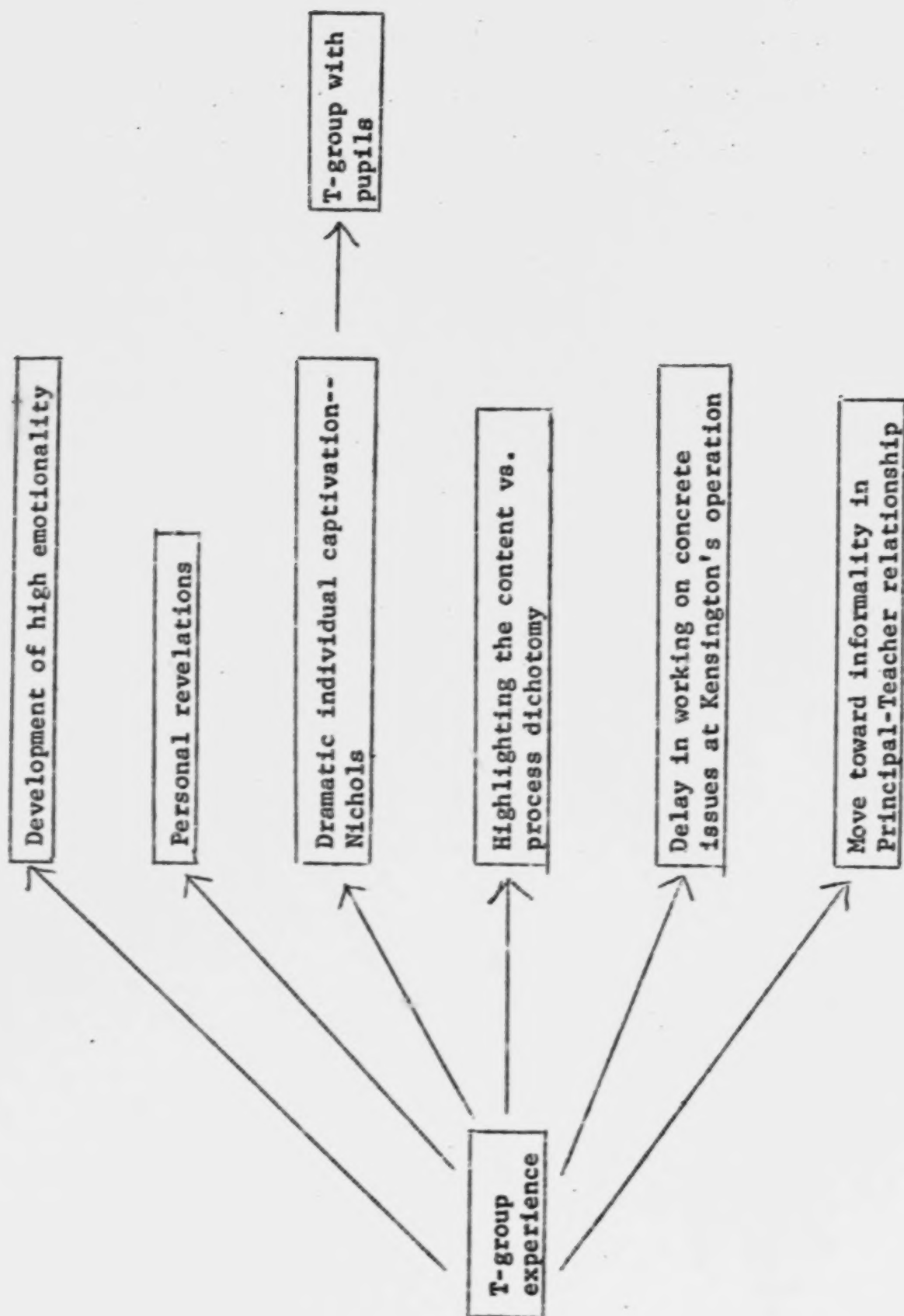


Figure 8.7. The consequences of the T-group experience.

minimal reading and numerical abilities since they had been in first grade last year. Most of them were subgrouped together for instruction. In the team of two this tended to be more with basal readers and textbooks than in the team of four. Similarly the 6 year olds tended to be grouped together for initial instruction in basic skill areas. The instruction varied from extended experientially developed materials, through individualized library books to basal reading series textual materials.

Transition, composed of 8 year olds, third graders, did not have to face the issue of "grade levels" even though the division contained the usual wide range of individual differences.

I.S.D. had the children who normally would be in 4th, 5th, and 6th grades. While the organizational patterns changed dramatically over the year, the children typically were never classified by grade levels. Even in the formation of a self-contained class during the second week, not all the pupils were fourth graders. Similarly when the team split finally into almost total self-contained units in the new building each teacher worked with some 9, 10, and 11 year olds, representing the several grade levels in the pupils' past placement. The specific approaches of the teachers varied widely, as we have indicated.

Anderson (1966) in his discussion of the theory and practice in the nongraded school comments that the real problems of the new conception are not the small administrative matters but more fundamental issues which curriculum experts are only beginning to solve.

The success of the nongraded arrangement depends ultimately on the improvement of curriculum. What is especially difficult about running a nongraded school or a nongraded classroom is not how to organize the program, or how to group the pupils,

or how to report pupil progress to parents, or how to set up recordkeeping systems, or how to help teachers solve the numerous other administrative problems that arise. What is difficult is how to solve the curriculum problems that the organizational scheme raises.

For example, which skill experiences are best arranged through individualized programs in which pupils can proceed at their own rate of speed, and which experiences are best reserved for groups? What topics, presented under what conditions, are appropriate for classes composed of youngsters whose academic potential and achievements range over a wide spectrum? What kinds of experiences can be shared by youngsters in multiage classes in which a great range of responses and contributions is possible? Just how does a spiral curriculum work? How can we better teach for the process goals? These and other questions bedevil the teachers in nongraded schools. Until our curriculum experts begin to attack these problems and produce specific recommendations that teachers can understand, progress will be at a snail's pace. (pp. 50-51)

As we have reported at several points in the monograph, our data suggest that the "numerous" administrative problems have major consequences. Our data indicate also that the Kensington staff struggled mightily in the curriculum issues. The August workshop and the Spring curriculum committee could not wait for the future products of "our curriculum experts," whoever they may be. In between times, the staff was "bedeviled," in the several senses of Webster's definition of that term.

Individualized curriculum and meaningful verbal learning

While our study of Kensington is basically an organizational analysis, perhaps we can clarify theoretically the interrelationships among the doctrine, the realities of the procedures and practices, and pupil learning by reference to a recent systematic position in educational psychology. (Ausubel, 1963). Within his introductory chapter, in a section entitled "Responsibility for organizing the curriculum and

presenting subject matter," Ausubel seems to be challenging the central tenets of the Kensington position. He says:

One extreme point of view associated with the child centered approach to education is the notion that children are innately equipped in some mysterious fashion for knowing precisely what is best for them. ... According to these theorists, the environment facilitates development best by providing a maximally permissive field that does not interfere with the predetermined process of spontaneous maturation. From these assumptions it is but a short step to the claim that the child himself must be in the most strategic position to know and select those components of the environment that are most congruent with his current developmental needs, and hence most conducive to optimal growth. (pp. 10-11)

He then proceeds to attack the oft-cited empirical basis--the self-selection of diet by infants; this he says is applicable only in early infancy and only in relationship to physiological needs. "...we cannot conclude that he is similarly sensitive to cues reflective of psychological and other developmental needs" (p. 11).

He continues:

....Unless one assigns a sacrosanct status to 'endogenous motivations,' there is little warrant for believing either that they alone are truly reflective of the child's genuine developmental requirements, or that environmentally derived needs are 'imposed,' authoritarian in spirit and inevitably fated to thwart the actualization of his developmental potentialities. Actually, most needs originate from without and are internalized in the course of the child's interaction and identification with significant persons in his family and cultural environments.

....one can never assume that the child's spontaneously expressed interests and activities are completely reflective of all of his important needs and capacities. Just because capacities can potentially provide their own motivation does not mean that they always or necessarily do so. It is not the possession of capacities that is motivating but the anticipation of future satisfactions once they have been successfully exercised; but because of such factors as inertia, lack of opportunity or appreciation

of their existence, preoccupation with other activities, many capacities may never be exercised in the first place. Thus, children typically develop only some of their potential capacities, and their expressed interests cannot be considered coextensive with the potential range of interests they are capable of developing with appropriate stimulation.

In conclusion, therefore, the current interests and spontaneous desires of immature pupils can hardly be considered reliable guideposts and adequate substitutes for specialized knowledge and seasoned judgment in designing a curriculum.
(p. 11)

He continues on his themes of developing new motivations as well as using those currently available. Finally he attacks two subsidiary propositions:

Two related propositions, stemming from the activity program movement, are that factual information and intellectual skills should always be acquired in the real-life, functional contexts in which they are customarily encountered (rather than through the medium of artificially contrived drills and exercises), and that a pupil's progress should be evaluated only in terms of his own potentialities. Many teachers, however, learned from their own experience that drills and exercises need not necessarily be rote in character and that they are essential, moreover, for acquiring many skills and concepts that do not occur frequently and repetitively enough in more natural settings. Similarly, they found it necessary to ignore much of the nonsense disseminated about incidental learning. They discovered that although it was possible for children to learn some things incidentally, deliberate and guided effort was required for the efficient learning of most types of academic material. (p. 12)

He raises his second point.

Finally they had to discount much of the exaggerated condemnation of school marks and group norms as unqualified evils. They found that stripped of their abuses marks were both indispensable tools for evaluating the acquisition of valid, worthwhile knowledge, and a quite necessary and unavoidable incentive for academic achievement in our competitive culture; and that while it was certainly useful to know how well a pupil was performing in terms of his own capabilities, this knowledge was no substitute for evaluation of his ability relative to the norm of his age group. (p. 12)

As he continues his analysis, he argues that meaningful verbal learning, i.e., the acquisition of broad structures of knowledge is the most important goal of education in the public schools. In this regard he places the "...role of helping children learn by themselves," as a secondary and related objective. He asserts:

The battle cry of the progressives that the student must assume responsibility for his own learning has been distorted into a doctrine of pedagogic irresponsibility. It has been interpreted to mean that the student's responsibility is to self-discover everything he has to learn, that is, to locate and organize his own materials from primary sources, to interpret them independently, to design his own experiments, and merely to use the teacher as a consultant and critic. But education is not a process of self-instruction. Its very essence inheres in the knowledgeable selection, organization, interpretation, and sequential arrangement of learning materials by pedagogically sophisticated persons. The school cannot in good conscience abdicate these responsibilities by turning them over to students in the name of democracy and progressivism. (pp. 12-13)

The argument envelopes one further point:

Another way in which educators have evaded responsibility for programming the content of instruction has been by hiding behind the slogan that the function of the school is to 'teach children how to think - not what to think.' This slogan also states a false dichotomy since the two functions are by no means mutually exclusive. Actually, as will be argued later, the transmission of subject matter can be considered the more primary function of the school. Most of the thinking that goes on in the school is and should be supplementary to the process of reception learning, that is, concerned with having students assimilate subject matter content in a more active, integrative, and critical fashion. Development of thinking or problem solving ability can also be considered an objective of schooling in its own right, although it is a lesser objective than the learning of subject matter and is only partly teachable; but under no circumstances is it a proper substitute for reception learning or a feasible primary means of imparting subject-matter knowledge. (p. 13)

As we have indicated, the formal doctrine tended to negate curriculum imperatives--demands of the school to teach particular content.

The staff, however, was split on this. In the chance juxtaposition of two conversations the observer caught this as well as the skein of consequences which flowered from this problem.

I have just had a long conversation with Jean. We talked some about the curriculum meeting which Jean heard about just this morning. Apparently the decision was made late yesterday and the word just got out today. She's due over there at 4:15 which is a very difficult time schedule. They have been having their team meetings in the afternoon and this will cancel that out. Jean is the only one from Basic Skills or Transition who is involved on the curriculum committee. The others are Liz, Jack, Alec, Eugene, and Tom. In talking with Jean, she commented that at least she wouldn't argue with David since he's no longer on it. This indicates one part of David's withdrawal, which is noted elsewhere. After much other discussion I came around to the point again when she'd commented that she was more progressive than the teachers at Hillside, where she was last year and that they were very traditional. In this sense, the sense that she meant it as she pinned it down, was that they tended to follow the central office directives to the letter rather than do what they wanted to do. She commented that she would tend to close her door and do what she wanted to do. When I confronted her with the point that she had made about her philosophy and David's being different, I asked her if she could put it on the same continuum or whether it could be put on another continuum. She didn't much like being confronted with the issue this way, but put him on the continuum as an extreme progressive. The differences she saw between herself and him was that he didn't think that there were any 'imperatives' about things that children should be taught and she did. She saw some possible difference between ISD and Basic Skills but that she still thought there were things that kids should learn. She argued this essentially from her own background and what she would have done as a pupil if she had been totally under self-motivation. In her words, she would know much less about a lot of things she should know something about.

All of this is interesting, for I had a few minutes of discussion with Dave before I left ISD. He had spent a lonely Thanksgiving and apparently pretty much by himself. He had not, I don't think, gone to any of the parties or the dinners that several of the people were having. He sees himself as totally isolated in ISD as well. He commented that it gave him more freedom, that he didn't have to go through the team to do what he wanted to do. He also commented that he'd spent a lot of time thinking about what he was doing and what the kids were doing and saw the problem as essentially one of using the wrong criteria to evaluate what he was doing and what his children were doing. For instance, he was concerned that people hold a criterion of how busy the children are in his group. In his eyes, over the long haul, they will become more involved in different kinds of activities and different kinds of things. He thinks that use of the traditional criteria would be a mistake at this point. He talked about how one of the children on last Wednesday had spent an hour in looking through science material trying to find out what 'diatoms' are. He had seen them on some of the prepared slides. David was very pleased about this. Also, as he and I stood and talked, one of the children came up and asked him about the word 'illegible' which the child pronounced incorrectly and David gradually ushered him into a dictionary to learn how to sound out the word and also to pronounce it correctly. These materials both came out of the prepared things that exist; in the latter instance these were SRA skill builders in prefixes. They were on one of the wheels. The children kind of go at this in their own way and at their own rate with a minimal amount of guidance from him. The possible merits in this approach and the long term accumulation of more and more self-direction seem very reasonable. They sound very much like part of the argument that we were in the other day on the teaching of forms in concept attainment and whether this inhibits the later invention of categories in concept formation. Just how these are to be weighted over the long haul, it seems to me, is a most important and critical educational issue.

(12/1)

The implications of these philosophical discrepancies (such as those of David and Jean) are important in that they relate to the division of Basic Skills into two teams. In this instance they permit each team to carry out an integrated instructional program. Jean Emerson's comments continue:

Another comment that she made, to some of my direct questions, concern whether the other team members tend to agree with her philosophy. She said they did. They also say that it's basic that the kids learn the skills and they are all actively involved in this. My observations would corroborate this very well. Almost every time I'm sitting in the lounge in Basic Skills somebody is grading an arithmetic or a reading or a composition paper. The kids are doing a tremendous amount of this kind of written work around the basic skills. I asked Jean if the team of two were in agreement. She gave me her wry little smile and said she didn't know. She went on to indicate that they see so little of the other group and team that she really does not know what goes on there. She seems to know more about Transition and about ISD than she does about the other team of two. We talked at some length while her pupils were getting milk and listening to a story. These groups apparently are larger and give some of the people free time, primarily she and Wanda at this point. Elaine and Sue were handling the story.

In short, while Kensington's doctrine seemed to us to be quite antithetical to Ausubel's position, actual practice varied widely among teams and divisions. The majority of the staff were much less radical than David in their practices and their beliefs.

Independent Study and Its Supervision

While Ausubel has challenged, especially, the child determined curriculum element of the individualized program, further analysis is required. The observers saw analogies to the industrial setting and graduate instruction at the University.

The whole concept of independent study, it seems, needs very careful analysis also. The assumption that they seem to be making is that the materials and the pupils' own talents will be sufficient to engage in the problems of learning. The analogy which seems implicit and fallacious is between an assembly line or an industrial setting where there are a set of tasks that recur over and over again and once they are learned the individual can take them on and perform them. By its very nature, the task in school is a progressive development and alteration in what is done. This means that there never comes a time when a person is moved toward a stabilized set of activities and hence doesn't need some kind of guidance or direction. On a very simple level, the same problem, it seems to me, occurs in the university where one can, in effect, do his own research or one can have a group of graduate students and assistants assisting him. In the latter instance at least a portion of one's energy must be devoted to a continuous monitoring and supervision and aid in all phases of the project. This takes some time, actually a good bit, and if one had 30 or 40 of such people, then one would be in an impossible situation. This, it seems to me, is the bind of the independent study concept at Kensington. In a sense, even the industrial analogy is not quite appropriate for there is always the problem of organizational development and replacement of personnel and the gradual indoctrination and socialization of them. An educational setting is, for the pupils, an extreme case of the continuous socialization problem.

(1/9)

In short, one has a number of children, approximately forty (in ISD in the Spring) whom one must guide individually in a half dozen areas of the curriculum. In the Fall, in the more departmentalized setting, the numbers varied up to two hundred. As we have indicated elsewhere, the system was too heavy and broke down at a number of points. In science, one of the most well developed parts of the independent study program,

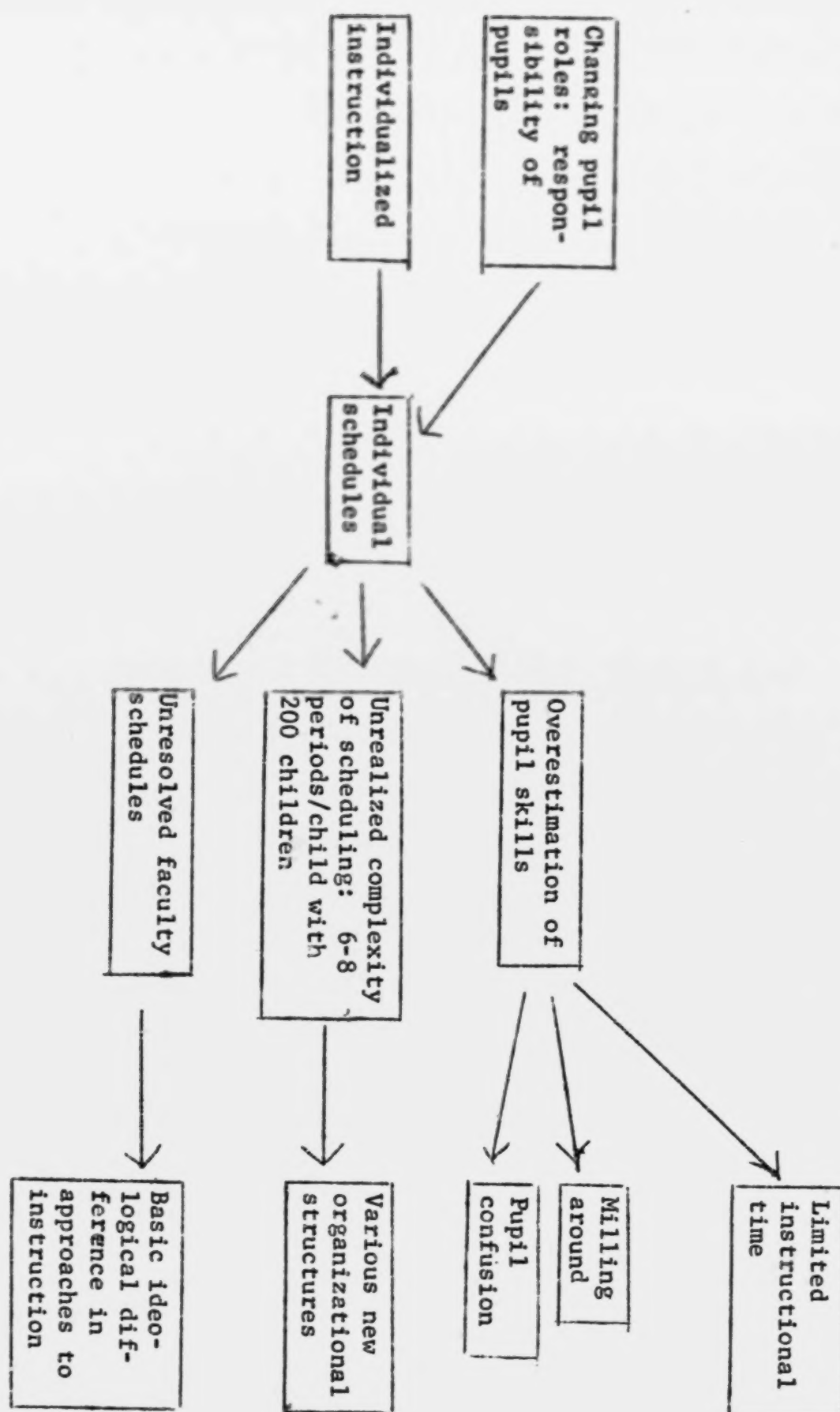
about which considerable discussion developed, the faculty estimated that some fifteen percent of the pupils were receiving an excellent individualized program of independent study. The remainder of the children had considerable difficulty. In the other areas of the curriculum, estimates were more difficult to make.

Individual Scheduling

One of the operational techniques utilized for the promotion of independent study and the individualized curriculum was individual scheduling in ISD. In Chapter Two we have presented some of the descriptive data associated with the procedure. The consequences were severe. The complexity of the problem was underestimated by the staff. The ability of the pupils to carry out the task was overestimated. The coordination of staff schedules with pupil schedules had not been resolved. These implications are sketched on Figure 8.8.

Insert figure 8.8 about here

Parenthetically, we would comment that the organizational issues here are dramatic illustrations of our general theoretical position that unanticipated consequences are primary means of organizational change. As the staff coped with these events they developed new structures, and so changed the basic organization.



Pupil logs

Interwoven with the nongraded and individualized approach to education were the "pupil logs," a daily one page journal of purposes, activities, outcomes and evaluation. They helped socialize the children and they provided information to the staff. The implications are contained in Figure 8.9.

Insert Figure 8.9 about here.

The unanticipated clerical problems were severe. The communications to the parents was high and evidence of parental dissatisfaction with aspects of the program appeared almost immediately.

No textbooks

Kensington planned to move toward an individualized program. Since the graded textbooks were perceived as a deterrent to such instruction, the school did not order such materials. One book company did loan them a complete set of text materials. In effect, the staff was forced to create new material and to utilize the well-equipped but late arriving library. With the availability of a wealth of materials, a large library, several sets of encyclopedias for every class, SRA individualized reading and skill laboratories, cycloteachers, and so forth became the instructional tools. Gaining experience with these materials was a long and arduous task. Similarly, developing units of work in science and social studies, and transparencies for special instructional purposes consumed large amounts of staff time. The ease of a textbook as a body

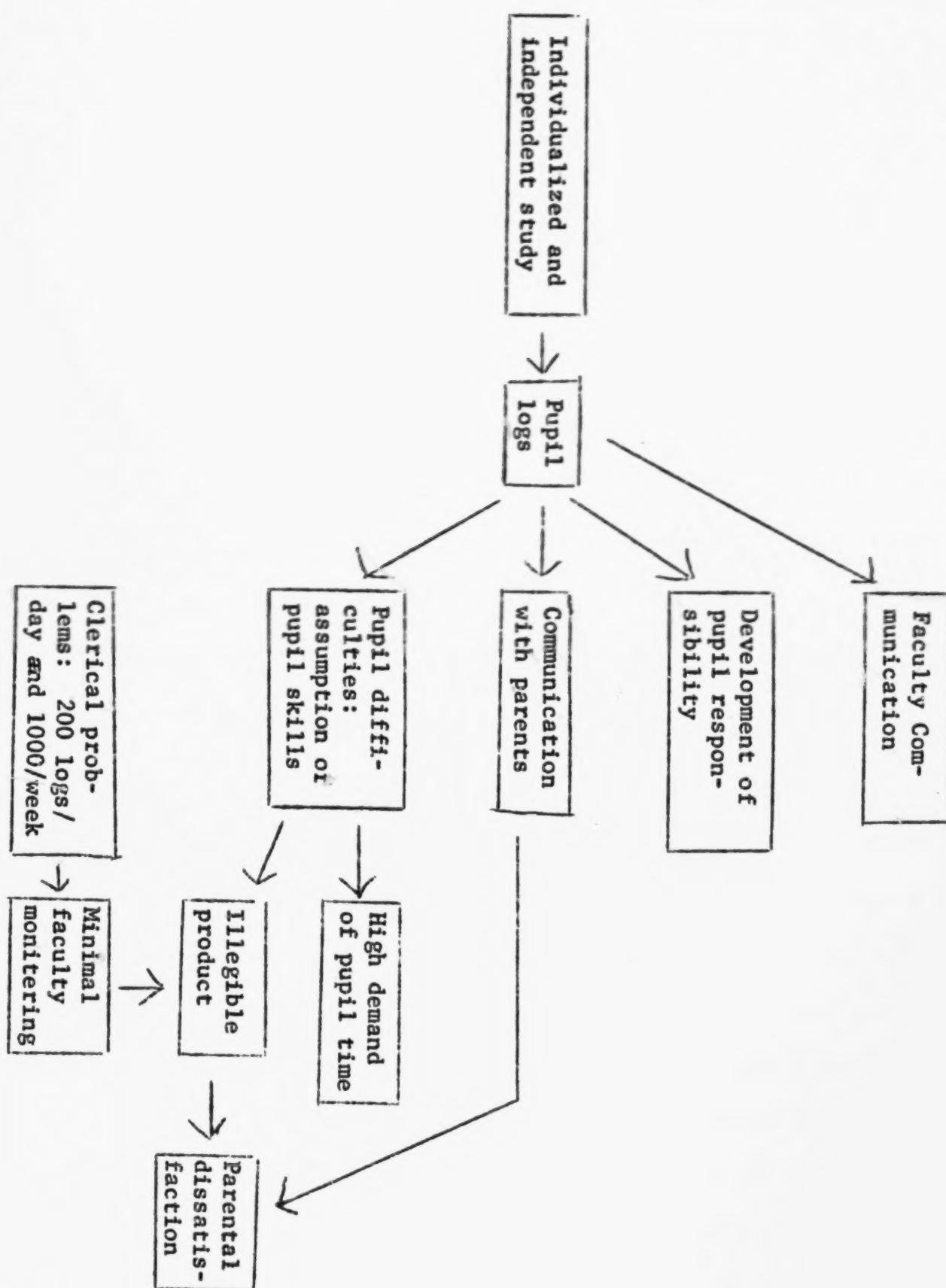


Figure 8.9. Aspects of pupil logs in an individualized program.

of sequenced content became very apparent, even if comparison with the standards of the formal doctrine found it short of the goal of individualized instruction.

Team Teaching and a Theory of Cooperative Action

One of the foremost accounts of team teaching (Shaplin and Olds, 1964) defines the central conception of the approach in this manner: ". . . a type of instructional organization, involving teaching personnel and the students assigned to them, in which two or more teachers are given responsibility, working together, for all or a significant part of the instructions of the same group of students" (p. 15). If we define team teaching as cooperative teaching, as does Shaplin (1965), then we are in a position to bring to bear theories of cooperation. While this account might well have been incorporated in other parts of the Kensington story, for its complexity illustrates very well the issues of organizational change through the unanticipated consequences of purposive social action, we analyze it as an organizational innovation.

At Kensington, within the divisional organization, the teachers were subdivided further into teams. This pattern continued throughout the year and was a major innovative thrust of Kensington. The Basic Skills Division split, at the insistence of several faculty members early in August. The team of two, with one-third of the Basic Skills children worked almost totally independent of the team of four. The initial break resulted partly from "personality conflict" and partly from an ideological difference on the traditional-progressive continuum. The team of two

developed problems around the dominant subordinate dimension of the dyad. The team of four with strong part-time support, which made it a team of five in many ways, developed very harmoniously as we have detailed elsewhere. Transition tended to form a dyadic coalition within the triad. Here also the traditional progressive dimension loomed large. In I.S.D. the changes were frequent and pervasive. The initial "total team" gave way under a variety of pressures, conflicts, and divisions in point of view into departmentalization, then two teams of three, then into a dyad coalition within one team, and finally into almost a total self-contained structure. The latter was characterized by quite varied patterns of teacher-pupil relationships.

Barnard's theory of cooperative action

In a simple, matter-of-fact way, Barnard (1938) begins his analysis of formal organizations and executive functioning by raising questions about cooperative behavior, the phenomenon which lies at the base of organizations. He states a basic postulate applicable under certain circumstances:

. . .cooperation has no reason for being except as it can do what the individual cannot do. Cooperation justifies itself, then, as a means of overcoming the limitations restricting what individuals can do. (p. 23)

Since we have defined team teaching as cooperative teaching, individuals acting or operating jointly, we can ask the very simple question, "What does team teaching do that an individual teacher cannot do?" Second, and more specifically, we would ask our data, "What did team teaching at Kensington do that an individual teacher could not do?" Shaplin (1965) has addressed his attention to the general issues in these terms:

In this generation in American education there appears to be a widespread increase in the amount of cooperative or collaborative activity among teachers, particularly of activity directly connected with classroom teaching. . . . Though this collaboration and cooperation takes many diverse forms, there appear to be certain persistent themes, all of which reflect a deep discontent with the standard organization of the school on the basis of the self-contained teacher and the self-contained classroom. (p. 14)

He speaks of such themes as 1) teachers' desires to teach subjects in which they are more interested, specialized or talented, 2) teachers' desires for greater flexibility in grouping pupils, 3) a greater efficiency in instructional time through combining classes, and 4) desires for joint faculty planning and evaluation.

Before moving to the answer of the second question, "What did team teaching at Kensington do?", we have a sub-question to which we must attend, that is, "What are the various forms of cooperative teaching which existed at Kensington?" While this requires a careful consideration of each teacher in her relationships with all others, for this analysis our earlier descriptive data in chapters two and three as well as additional data suggested by the developing analysis itself must suffice.

Neatly and heuristically, Barnard approaches his problem of the conditions which make cooperation effective by asking himself the negative question, ". . . why or when is cooperation ineffective?" These reasons enable him to explore biological, psychological and social factors critical to the phenomenon of cooperative action.

Specialization of activity

Effectiveness of cooperation in most instances requires what Barnard has called "an ordered combination of personal efforts." This raises

immediately several significant theoretical issues. First, what are the varying kinds of efforts which individual teachers might contribute to the team? Essentially this means a scheme or taxonomy of teaching tasks. In classical sociology this is the division and specialization of labor. While Barnard talks of this as the bases and kinds of specialization, we must put specific teaching content into the outline. As we searched our data, reported in chapters two and three, we find major differences among our three teams. The Basic Skills team four brought uniqueness through specialized knowledge, e.g., books such as Dr. Seuss for oral reading which some knew and had access to and which others did not, skills such as puppetry which Elaine had and the others did not, piano playing (Wanda), a flair for imaginative fantasy which several possessed but through which Sue was able to make a unique contribution, and the guitar playing skill of Chris.

On occasion, the potential involved in specialized skills and unique physical facilities created consequences of considerable magnitude.

As I left the building Wanda and Elaine commented to me very enthusiastically about the children's theatre. The school has been given some professional sets and scenery developed by a commercial company. Elaine mentioned that the work in the theatre was the "first time" that they had really been able to do some of the things that Kensington was set up to do. The Hanzel and Gretel play is to be given this afternoon at 2:00. People with special talents, as these two, have to utilize these talents with large groups of children. Presumably over the course of the year most of the 120 kids would get at least one opportunity to take part in an activity of this kind under the direct tuition of someone such as Elaine. The areas which seem most responsive to this kind of special work seem to be art, music, dramatics, and perhaps physical education. We need to look at the literature on other patterns of organization for handling these special ability areas. The way it was done at the

Washington School seems to me to be a much less adequate
and minimal kind of alternative. (1/6)

In the other two teams the problems of inexperience in teaching generally proved very significant and for those with strong specialities, e.g., Jack Davis in science, his experience had been mostly with secondary pupils. In several instances, the specialties were not of sufficient magnitude and depth to contribute to the program as seems implied in the Barnard type of analysis. As the individuals, e.g., Basic Skills-4, had these skills the unanticipated consequences occurred in 1) providing strength to the program, e.g., pupil interest and pupil learning, 2) providing a place on the team for each of the persons--a uniqueness and identity which facilitated the development of individual confidence and group esprit de corps. The happy combination of talents in Chris' roles in music, informal leadership, and instruction to Sue we have mentioned at several points. In contrast, the inexperience in Transition and I.S.D. provoked serious problems and prevented a number of kinds of arrangements. We have commented elsewhere how the move to a self-contained structure in I.S.D. raised difficulties for the teachers trained as specialists who now had to behave as generalists. At each turn Blau's point kept recurring--a social structure which is purposive for certain ends creates other consequences for which later purposive action is taken, and in due course the organization changes.

Atypical of most schools, Kensington had several additional specialized staff roles. The most important of these was the coordinator of curriculum materials. This involved supervision of the large library of individual book titles which replaced the usual textbook materials,

the wealth of special equipment, e.g., tape recorders and overhead projectors, and a staff of several aides. The aides' roles varied during the course of the year. While in temporary quarters they typically were assigned to and placed with Divisions. Later they served the total school. Their assignments included audio-visual aide, library aide, and instructional clerk. As we have indicated they were generally inexperienced in their roles but they labored intensively to put order into a new and not too well-defined role. Budget cuts with consequent salary reductions led them to look for and find other job alternatives after the first year.

As we shall comment shortly, not only does an elementary school teaching organization in contrast to other organizations present serious information load problems, it also raises questions regarding the degree to which specialization of function is possible and desirable. Classically, specialization of labor is based upon the increased productivity which results when a complex task can be divided into sub-tasks which can be performed quickly, usually repetitively, and usually with less skilled labor at various points in the production process.

Team teaching seems to have elements of a mixed model. Traditionally in the elementary school, the teacher is responsible for the children all day and for all activities. Traditionally the secondary school teacher specializes in activities (subject matter to be taught) and works shorter periods of time with larger numbers of pupils. The university typically continues this trend. Implicit assumptions seem to be increasing pupil responsibility and increasing need for specialized knowledge as the pupil increases with age. In team teaching one major division of labor occurs between professional teaching staff and teacher aides. The latter work

at the direction of the professional staff and in our case assisted in the library, in preparing seatwork materials (cutting and running ditto stencils) and showing films. Within the professional staff the division of labor occurred only partially. Most of the teachers carried multiple to total functions except in the case of physical education activities. Only with the older children were attempts made for decided specialization. This tended to break down for several reasons: lack of pupil responsibility and ability to work independently, staff disagreement over importance of functions (small group process sessions with pupils) and lack of highly specialized staff training and competence as opposed to generalized competence.

Bounded rationality

A slight extension of Barnard's point of perceptual components in cooperative behavior moves us to March and Simon's concept of bounded rationality. Barnard means that information about the immediate environment must be present and available to all parties in the joint endeavor. Bounded rationality refers to "the limits of information available to humans and their abilities to use information in their computations." (March and Simon, 1958, p. 203). The goals of Kensington stress in a variety of ways the total development of each child and the need to teach, program his work, with him, individually. This produces an information load that is burdensome for an individual tutor much less than for the teacher of twenty-five children in an all-day self-contained classroom. In team teaching several conditions maximize the problem: each teacher sees more children and each teacher sees each child for a shorter period

of time. We hypothesize that the stress on the goal of totality of individual development in contrast to more limited cognitive goals means that the narrowing of information, which occurs in a secondary mathematics class, decreases less rapidly. The team teaching mode of organization, in contrast to other forms demands that the teaching program of one teacher be contingent on that of one or more others. This promotes a need for communication and mechanisms for sharing information and planning activities. In Kensington this resulted in continuing laments that "we don't know the children well enough." While this occurred particularly early in the year, it was also prevalent throughout the year.

The mechanisms developed to handle the information problems were: (1) team meetings; (2) informal communication, and (3) written records. As we have indicated elsewhere the formal team meetings varied in the degree to which they were conflict-ridden and consequently immobilized for information sharing much less action. The informal communication occurred well in one team which developed mechanisms for several of the team members to have morning coffee or lunch together. The written records suffered from developmental needs, what should be recorded, and then from limited time to record and to read the recordings of others.

Essentially then, in regard to bounded rationality, the key problem centered on the information overload. The inadequate mechanisms for processing available information only compounded the problem and confused the key issue.

Patterns of ordered activity

The "ordered" element in Barnard's conception of "an ordered combina-

tion of personal efforts" receives elaboration from him in the context of a requirement for inventiveness and discovery of patterns of personal efforts. He says this is a rare and infrequent phenomenon in the history of science or ordinary experience. At Kensington, an outcome of the summer workshop, or if we were to use evaluative terms, a tragedy of that workshop, was that the staff was still reaching for those concrete patterns on Thursday and Friday of the fourth week, moments before the children were to arrive just after Labor Day. For instance, in I.S.D. the use of self-selected natural friendship groups was not an explicitly defined operational definition of "individualized instruction" until Monday afternoon of the last week. The training group and the task group conception did not arrive until Wednesday. On Thursday it was decided that pupil attendance in the training group would take priority over attendance at other groups or activities. As we have related, this led to a particular set of sign up procedures which were not workable with some children. In turn, the organizational structure was modified in several ways, e.g., a self-contained classroom, and so on.

Also very little careful description exists on the natural history of teaching. Here we have reference to two interrelated phenomena, the flow of events during a semester or a year, and the flow of events during an entire teaching career. If data on these issues were available from the teacher of a self-contained classroom and from the departmentalized organization, innovations such as team teaching could be conceptualized and evaluated much more readily. Speculations concerning this issue arose in the fall as we talked with Jean Emerson.

Jean is ill with a cold and general fatigue. She's kind

of putting her time in this week and generally coasting. She'd been invited to a Thanksgiving dinner and was supposed to bring a Jello mold. She just doesn't know whether she's going to be able to get time to do this. With not feeling well and the minimal interests that she expressed later, in cooking, one can get a picture of her current level of functioning. This suggests also an important theoretical problem in team teaching, the dips and the plateaus in enthusiasm and in energy and how the other team members must be able to and be willing to pick up at these times and carry more of the weight. In a regular classroom the teacher typically would move into some rather routine busy work type activities. If there are such rhythms to teaching, then it seems to be important to think about the team concepts in regard to the rhythms. In paraphrase form the basic question becomes, "What does the team do when the individual isn't up?"

In effect, our speculation concerns a very mundane kind of problem, the behavior of a teacher who is not feeling well. This kind of influence upon cooperative teaching seems important and largely unanalyzed. Barnard's conception of "ordered" activity seems to catch its focus.

Coordinating of activity

Further, when one has "an ordered combination of personal efforts" one has the important problem of control or authority, someone or something to tell or to prescribe who is where and when, that is, at some point in time. Typically this problem is handled in two complementing ways, through rules (and their informal equivalent, group norms), and through a particular kind of role specialization, an administrator, executive, or leader. Our teams varied dramatically in this regard also. In B.S.D.-2 Carla assumed this role with initial effectiveness but with the ultimate significant disaffection of Mary. In B.S.D.-4, the solution seemed to fall into several complementing channels: the team as they came to know each other found common beliefs about teaching which generated

crystallized norms, they were all goal oriented rather than status oriented, and Chris Hun who initially came to them as a part-time consultant proved to have a flair for informal leadership as well as a considerable range of teaching talents. Sue, the only one without experience who might have posed a major obstacle, was able to ask for help; the team had the resources to give it, and she learned rapidly. And, as we have commented, she came to have a significant flair for some of the specialized skills. The Transition team resolved the authority problems around Meg who was the only one of the three with experience and who tended to give direction and to put a final stamp on decisions in terms of their probability of success. I.S.D. had no formal team leader, had persons vying for the informal position from the first day of the summer workshop until the close of school, (or more precisely until they gave up any semblance of trying to be a cooperative unit), and held such divergent opinions on the goals and methods of teaching that informal norms did not crystallize easily initially, and interpersonal negative sentiments later continued to interfere.

The co-ordination of efforts in the team had the further problem of the context of authority and control within the school. This aspect of Kensington was of such significance that we raise it at length in the chapter on issues in administrative theory.

Team leadership and organizational patterns

Team teaching theorists such as Lortie (1964) project two basic organizational patterns, the horizontal and the vertical, of this approach to educational organization. Kensington had a vertical scheme built into its structure, the observers had a foreshadowed problem which went awry:

The fact that Eugene has not selected his team leaders caught me very unexpectedly. One of the initial problems I had been wanting to look at was the conflict between the selected team leader and the emergent leadership. Eugene was shrewd enough to miss that problem by not selecting them until after they got here. Apparently, although I don't have any direct evidence to check this out, he didn't lose any people he wanted because he was unwilling to name a team leader at that point. The evolution of that could be a very interesting phenomenon. (8/8)

That evolution did become an interesting story. Team leaders were never selected. An everpresent issue, the search for leadership within the organization, was related to this as well as to the locus of decision making (described in chapter seven). Formally the staff never moved to a vertical organization. The norm of egalitarianism, characteristic of public schools elsewhere, asserted itself. Informally, the principal had a "kitchen cabinet" which shifted, really vacillated, over time and which provided discrepant cues to the staff.

Adjustment of activities: time and timing

The conditions of the environment. . .are constantly changing the limitations of the environment with respect to cooperative action. . .The ensuing adjustments that are required in the case of cooperation are unlike the corresponding adjustments of individuals, which are physiological. Adjustments of cooperative systems are adjustments in the balance of the various types of organizational activities. . . .These adjustment processes become management processes, and the specialized organs are executives and executive organizations. (Barnard, p. 35).

The coordination and adjustment of these activities requires time and also timing. Organizational theorists and critics have innumerable "laws" about time, e.g., "work expands to fill available time." In the case of team teaching, time becomes critical because of the organization per se and because of auxiliary functions which often become associated with team

teaching. For instance, in Kensington, the goals of the school, especially individualized instruction in contrast to textbook instruction involved the teams in preparing and writing new materials. This exhausting task is not indigenous to team teaching but often arises in conjunction with it for reasons similar to ones which produce dissatisfaction with the self-contained classroom organization. However, the concept of time demands is indigenous in this manner. Consider the traditional teacher who plans his work a bit the night before, a bit on the way to school in the morning and mostly by following the program laid out in the text. (Smith and Geoffrey, 1965). This part of his task demands little time and energy. In the team teaching situation, the teacher must consciously rationalize his plans to a higher degree, he must submit these to his fellows for examination, he must examine their plans, and they must reach an amicable compromise on content and sequence functional for reaching agreed-upon objectives. If this is done seriously it has implications for daily planning and weekly or larger unit planning as well as semester or yearly planning.

Such an increase in time demands, and energy demands also, if one assumes that there are limits to total demand individuals are willing to devote to the professional part of their lives.⁸ Within teaching little research seems available on the pupil learning consequences of planning per se and none on the relative amounts of time spent in planning versus execution of the teaching act, however defined, and independent activity

8. Without question total time, twenty-four hours a day, is limited. At Kensington sharp conflict existed over how much of that time should be devoted to school activities and other, especially family, activities.

on the part of the pupil. Presumably, as the planning time increases and the execution time decreases, the specialization impact, to a point, more than makes up for the time decrement.

Dependability of activity

Barnard's point, on implicit barriers related to the ordered combination of activities in cooperation is dependability, a reliability in performance of activities, was a significant problem mainly for the I.S.D. team. The causes were quite varied and seemingly outside the immediate control of the individual members. Kay was physically below par with the after effects of infectious mononucleosis. She missed meetings in the workshop and in teaching. The problem was seriously complicated by the heavy time and work demands in the Kensington program. Jack had somewhat vague but real responsibilities as districtwide consultant in science; these duties drew him out of the team in August as well as during the year. He also had Saturday morning college teaching responsibilities which caused him to miss Saturday staff and team meetings. David had periods of excitement when all things were possible and would be undertaken and periods of doubt and depression; for the team this was a kind of variableness or unreliability. Tom, while not an official member of the team, was strongly identified with it, and of course had his major responsibilities as materials and resource coordinator for the entire school. Frequently, also, decisions would be made, and the results would be forgotten in the press of a later particular situation and a further kind of lack of dependability was built into the situation. This seems most clearly relevant to the newness of the organization with its lack

of social structure, the abstractness of the formal doctrine, and the absence of close supervision. A few of the faculty developed reputations for being personally undependable. Not only did this create problems of the moment, it also contributed to staff conflict and hostility.

Chester Barnard's observation on the importance of associational attractiveness as an incentive to dependable activity seems extremely insightful in regard to the functioning of Kensington School staff and in regard to the methodology which we utilized to study the school:

But it seems clear that the question of personal compatibility or incompatibility is much more far-reaching in limiting cooperative effort than is recognized, because an intimate knowledge of particular organizations is usually necessary to understand its precise character. When such an intimate knowledge exists, personal compatibility or incompatibility is so thoroughly sensed, and the related problems are so difficult to deal with, that only in special or critical cases is conscious attention given to them. But they can be neglected only at peril of disruption. Men often will not work at all, and will rarely work well, under other incentives if the social situation from their point of view is unsatisfactory. (pp. 146-147).

Our investigation and report bears strong witness to the importance of his generalization. Teams have these consequences. Compatibilities facilitate cooperation; incompatibility tends to be destructive of cooperation. The point is extended from dyadic interactions to individual-group interactions. In Barnard's judgment, the group is a system itself and has influence on the individual's percepts and motives.

Group conflict and discord cause a variety of difficulties in handling mundane chores such as pupil accounting. In a complex organizational structure involving non-gradedness and team teaching, the impact is greater. Casual conversation produced the following data.

Lunch was delightful; Tom, Arthur, Helen, and I ate together. We were joined by Elaine. A variety of odd bits of information occurred. First, in joking about the attendance, Claire commented that they never have more than one or two absent per class and often no more than one or two for the whole 90 kids. There's a standing joke among these three about the attendance at I.S.D. No one knows, literally, how many kids are there and not there. I made some comment about "all they have to do is count from the list" and they laughed back "what list?" They, literally, have not been able to account for the children.

Another item that came out was that one kid had moved, had been gone for two or three weeks before Helen realized that he was. She had been counting him absent all the time. The deciding factor occurred when the receiving school in another state wrote for his records. These mechanics just haven't been worked out.

The inability to dependably carry out various tasks of the organization were issues which plagued the team through the early months of the year.

Among the myriad of activities which one might identify in team teaching, we noted a critical one as "picking up the slack." Essentially we mean that an individual perceives a task which needs to be done if the group is to reach its goals and the individual moves in easily and carries out the necessary aspects.

The group seems to enjoy teaching and to enjoy what they are doing. An illustration of this concerned Elaine straightening out the pictures of elves the kids had drawn and her comment, "If it is all right with the rest of you I'll go ahead and pick ten of these as winners, unless some of you would like to help which I would be happy to have." Individuals pick up the slack this way continuously. Wanda for instance, also has brought in a whole bunch of books at the primer level from the county and local libraries. It's interesting how they have been caught in this team on the fact that the ABC Co. did not give them any primers. They have all the pre-primers and the first and second grade books but they don't have the primers. They now need those for most of their kids and they have no place to turn to. The primers from the other series are difficult in that

the kids don't know the names of the children or the animals who are in the stories. They have moved very heavily from the experience type reading to the more formal textbook materials for most of the kids. In the course of casual conversation, Jean mentioned that she was going to have all of her kids go through the readers. This would be at whatever rate they could do it. If the fast ones could read it in a day, that would be fine and then they would go on and read supplementary materials, if it took them several weeks, that would be fine too and they would work their way through at that pace. To me, it seems that she has a pretty clear conception of how she wants to run her reading program and she's able to move toward this without too much difficulty. This is another illustration of where experience really pays off. (1/4)

Such an illustration combines the aspect of dependability with the aspect of compatibility. We have diagrammed the hypothesized relationships in Figure 8.10.

Insert Figure 8.10 about here.

Elaboration of social activity

Although Barnard does not use the expression, elaboration of social activity,⁹ he describes a phenomenon which might carry such a label:

When the individual has become associated with a cooperative enterprise he has accepted a position of contact with others similarly associated. From this contact there must arise interactions between these persons individually, and these interactions are social. It may be, and often is, true that these interactions are not a purpose or object either of the cooperative systems or of the individuals participating in them. They nevertheless cannot be avoided. Hence, though not sought, such interactions are consequences of cooperation, and constitute one set of social factors involved in cooperation. (pp. 40-41)

9. This is George Homans' (1950) term.

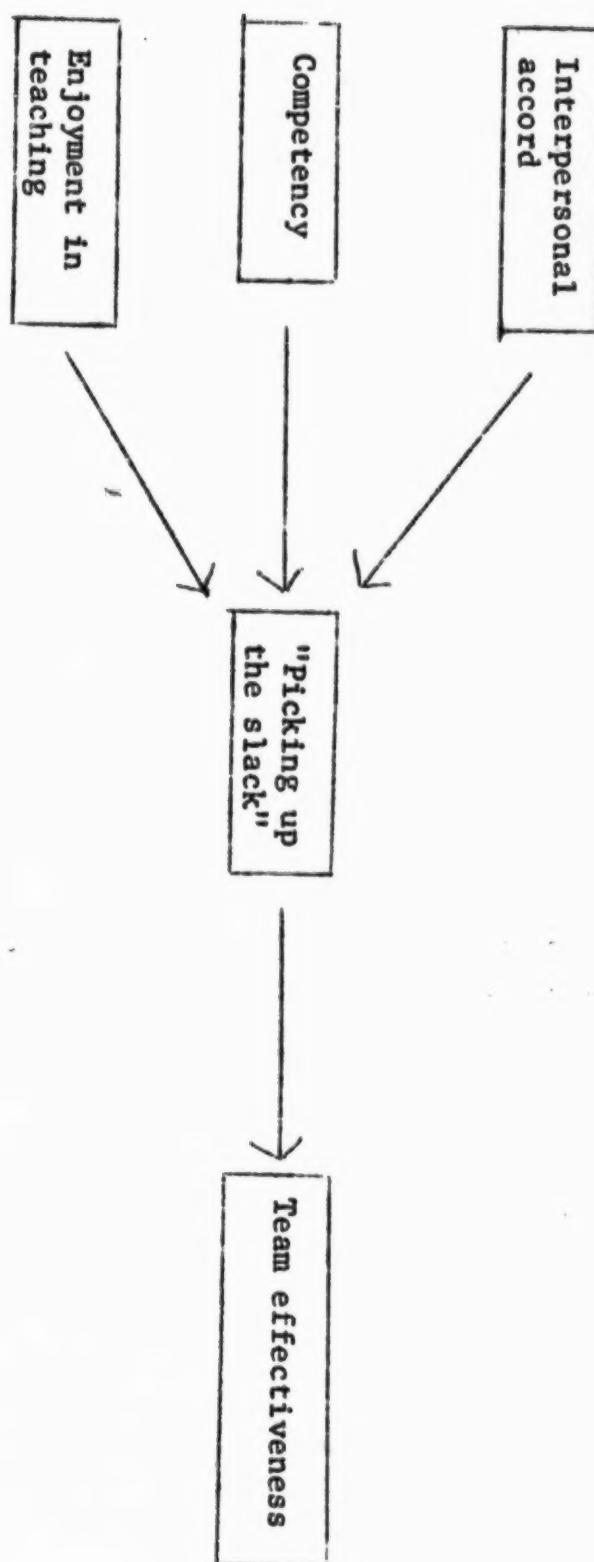


Figure 8.10. Antecedents of team effectiveness.

In the view of one educational analyst, Shaplin (1965), a teaching team is a secondary group.

From a sociological view, teams are secondary or instrumental groups, in contrast to primary groups. In secondary groups the emphasis is upon task orientation, and evaluation is based upon principles of universalism and achievement; whereas primary groups emphasize localism, friendship, kinship and other personal factors. . . Careful attention is given to the definition of goals and the creation of positions appropriate for reaching the goals. (pp. 16-17)

Kensington is an interesting anomaly in this context. As we discussed at great length, the formal doctrine has codification and rationalism well beyond what one finds in most elementary schools. Goal definitions have been made and organizational positions have been created to a high degree. Yet, the content of the doctrine argued for an authority structure and a group consensus that had strong informal and primary group qualities. The month's summer workshop contributed strongly to this also.

Also, as we observed the teaching, here and elsewhere (Smith & Geoffrey, 1965, Connor & Smith, In process), we have been impressed with the phenomenon of personal intimacy characteristic of the phenomenon known as teaching. One exposes large and significant portions of one's self as he makes contact or "tries to reach" a particular child in an elementary school. A host of his experiences, his personal resources, and his idiosyncratic point of view about life are exposed. If the relationship is to have an authenticity about it, this seems almost mandatory. Similarly, as one meets with one's colleagues, in a team or in some kind of cooperative relationship involved in instruction, a similar experience becomes evident. Often the only reason one can present for one's approach is "It's me. That's the way I am, the skills I have, and what I know and can do." To

underestimate this primary quality of both teams and teaching is to court a series of consequences. The previous quotation continues:

For a variety of reasons, it is possible for such a working group to change into a primary group with stress upon the affective needs of individuals composing the group, particularly if the goals are unclear or the related roles poorly defined.
(p. 17)

At Kensington, the issues were more complicated. As we have stressed elsewhere the doctrine, the accumulating social structure and process (e.g., beginning with the T-groups), the strong personal needs of some members, the true belief quality as well as the nature of teaching contributed to the thrust toward Kensington teams becoming primary groups.

Socialization and team teaching

Beyond the attainment of instructional objectives, a wider context exists in the consideration and analysis of team teaching. The socialization and induction of individuals into the profession is a critical and little understood process. Beyond the preservice training with its variety of culminating practicum experiences, lies the first months and years of experience. This same point has been made more generally by Shaplin (1965).

Perhaps the greatest innovation in technical functions promoted by team organization is in the area of supervision--supervision within the teaching force rather than from the administration or a special supervisory staff. Within some hierarchial teams--particularly those involving beginning teachers, interns, and apprentices--it is possible to vary teaching loads in accordance with the energy, ability, and experience of the teachers and to provide immediate, on the job evaluation and assistance.
(p. 19)

We were struck at several points on the varying experiences the young teachers had at Kensington. Conceptually we were trying to focus on mechanisms within "teaming" and within "administrative supervision."

Another aspect of the situation, is the minimal amount of active work on the part of the administration and the supervisors in helping a teacher to come to grips with the problems that are giving her troubles. For instance, in thinking about Sue and Liz, who posed some of the same kinds of problems, it looks as if Sue has, in effect, made it, in terms of being able to handle the children and to move a program along. My observation of her the other day would suggest that she was on top of it, that she had learned a bit about the ebb and flow of the process and could handle it pretty well. Liz has not learned this. Neither one got substantial help from formal supervisors, at least as far as I know. Sue got considerable help from Chris during the early parts of the semester. The team was not able to give this to Liz. Partly this was because there were too many other inexperienced people, who could not help her. Partly, also, was the developing schism between the North and the South half, although this came quite late, formally, and people like Irma were not able to, or could not, or did not give extensive help. But this cutting off of people without this kind of careful working with them, it seems to me, is another part of the laissez-faire leadership and a fundamental dimension in the program, organizationally.

As I described Sue's behavior to Paul it struck me that she might be a prototype of the phenomenon of what one learns when one becomes a "teacher-with-experience." The issues that I pointed to were first, a general look and air and feeling of being on top of it and being in control rather than being pushed and pulled by exterior forces. Specifically, her behavior in passing out the sheets of paper, that is, giving one stack to each of 6 kids, her later behavior of making sure everybody had each sheet, and her ability to postpone or delay a kid who wanted sheet 5 while she was working on sheet 6, was very beautifully done. Similarly, her ability to pull the kids out, 4 or 5 of them, and give them brief instruction in reading while the other group had a good bit to do and things that were interesting, the drawing of the picture for each page, it seemed to me to work out very well. She was on the go constantly and moved around to handle kids, didn't become upset when some of them were doing one thing when they should have been doing another, etc. Another aspect of this would be her handling of the stop and go signs when kids go out of the room for the rest room facilities. Interpretively, this might make a very nice contrast between her and Liz and make the general point on the experience. (11/2)

At another point, we raise in some detail the social psychological meaning of "helping." This seems to us to be a key issue in administrative process.

Team Composition

As we lived with the staff, we kept trying to unlock the question, How might one constitute staff groups for team teaching? A number of speculations arose.

As I think about it, it seems as though David and Dan would make a very good team. I am reminded of comments which suggested that teaming requires basic similarities in philosophy. And also the comments that Mr. Geoffrey made last year in talking about working with Miss Norton in areas such as reading or other activities. He was very choosy and would not do this with Miss Binder because of her "guidance philosophy." I'll have to check the team literature to determine if this "bedfellow" phenomenon has received more extensive discussion and consideration. It's looming up very large at this point.
(12/5)

Our earlier point on the intimacy of relationships in teaching requires attention to the team composition problem. At this point in time decisions based on anything but a gradual developing exploration of relationships seems to be open to serious question.

Effectiveness and efficiency of cooperative action

A formal system of cooperation requires an objective, a purpose, an aim. Such an objective is itself a product of cooperation and expresses a cooperative discrimination of factors upon which action is to be taken by the cooperative system. It is important to note the complete distinction between the aim of a cooperative effort and that of an individual. (Barnard, 1938, pp. 42-43).

When the ends are obtained, the action is judged effective; when motives are satisfied the action is judged efficient. The teams varied in effectiveness and in efficiency. In general, the outcomes were correlated.

The B.S.D.-2 team might be judged as effective but inefficient, although here the specificity of which goals--pupil reading skills or Kensington doctrine, might alter the effectiveness evaluation. The problems in authority, coordination, and inability to know large numbers of children suggests that the satisfactions were not as high as in alternative situations. Barnard, in commenting upon this kind of issue, anticipates much of the current work in social exchange theory:

If the distribution were such that benefits just equaled burdens in each case, which would require ideal precision in distribution, each individual would have no margin of inducement as against other alternatives. The cooperative system must create a surplus of satisfaction to be efficient. If each man gets back only what he puts in, there is no incentive, that is, no net satisfaction for him in cooperation. . . Efficiency, for the individual, is satisfactory exchange. Thus the process of cooperation also includes that of satisfactory exchange. (p. 58)

Such an analysis suggests also that the persistent themes of deep discontent which Shaplin (1965) described, and which we quoted earlier, have their rivals in other kinds of dissatisfaction and discontent within particular teaming or cooperating situations. As our introductory epilogue has indicated, Kensington as a particular system and as a system interdependent with other systems, e.g., Milford in the larger context and the Divisions and teams within, culminated in almost total turnover of personnel. The individuals opted elsewhere.

The survival of cooperation, therefore, depends upon two interrelated and interdependent classes of processes: (a) those which related to the system of cooperation as a whole in relation to the environment; and (b) those which relate to the creation or distribution of satisfactions among individuals. (Barnard, 1938, pp. 60-61).

In Short

Reference to quite basic, and quite simple theory of cooperation puts team teaching into an important context. Such theory suggests a number of facets of teaming which might otherwise be unanticipated, unintended or undesirable. As these consequences were positive they contributed to the team's effectiveness and efficiency. As they were negative they precipitated organizational change.

THE INNOVATIVE PHYSICAL FACILITIES

Perhaps if we had been trained as architects, some of our observations and interpretations on the innovative physical facilities would have been less naive and more fundamental. Perhaps also we would have conceptualized the problem differently--or even have been intrigued by a different problem. Be that as it may, we started with the idea from Homans (1950) that the physical environment was important; however we were not able to obtain from him much in the way of analytical conceptions. Loomis (1960) and Gouldner (1957) helped some. The former comments, "A facility may be defined as a means used to attain ends within the system." (p. 27). But Loomis moves the concept little further for he uses it only as a "residual category." Although his category includes varied material objects and possessions, his major point is that the focus must be "upon relation of the facility to its utilization, not upon the items as facilities per se." (p. 28). He concludes:

Regardless of the intrinsic nature of the facility, it is its use, not its intrinsic qualities which determines its significance to social systems. Whether a given object is

used as an altar and considered sacred or as an auctioneer's bench and considered secular, will in large part be determined by its evaluation and the communication of sentiment through utilization. (p. 30)

In our judgment however, this is only a partial analogy. As means to ends, objects by their "intrinsic" qualities vary in the probabilities by which these means can be attached to certain ends. To return to a simple and often overused illustration, the school desks which are bolted to the floor are very different from movable desks as soon as instructional procedures and goals shift to ungradedness, small group work and the like.

Gouldner (1957) in discussing relationships between pure and applied science, argues that the latter requires concepts readily transferred into the lay language. His use of disaster as an illustration has direct relevance to what he calls "material props."

Among other things, it (disaster) commonly involves a sudden destruction of the material props of human action--homes, means of transportation, stores, furniture, food supplies, clothing--often, though not always, by the intrusion of sudden changes in the natural environment, such as floods, fires, blizzards, tornados, hurricanes, etc.

There are at least three counts on which pure sociological theory today fails to aid in the analysis of this problem: 1) it has very little to say about, and does not systematically deal with, the role of material props. Even the concept of 'culture,' which at one time involved reference to material traits is increasingly defined in terms of normative elements alone. The theoretical location of material props, therefore, becomes steadily obscured as it gets thrust into a residual limbo. 2) Present pure sociological theory has given little thought to the relationship between social and cultural systems, and the so called natural environment. (pp. 86-87).

Fundamentally though, we felt that the physical facilities were important to a teacher, and if we could form some dimensional concepts of physical facilities this could be a contribution to educational theory.

Consequently we observed, read, and talked about this part of Kensington.

Openness to extraneous stimuli

While it is difficult to define "openness to extraneous stimuli," the necessity of such a concept has stayed with us. In a regular elementary school classroom some 25-35 children work together. For the child studying an individual topic, the environment is quite open to extraneous stimuli--as every teacher knows when a dozen or so of the group are milling about. However, when the entire group is engaged in a lesson or recitation then the extraneous stimuli lie only in the noise from the playground and traffic, or the temperature variations from some modal figure.¹⁰ Kensington, however, presented two situations of extreme openness to extraneous auditory stimuli; as we have described I.S.D., the days in the junior high gymnasium were hideous in this regard. The lack of walls between teachers and pupils in the new school still represented a fairly extreme position on the openness continuum. Shortly after the move, the field notes recorded the following:

As Irma talked to Eugene, she commented that the noise problem was so much less severe than it was over at the junior high, even though it could still be better. This is my reaction also. I could hear Jack clear across the room when he was discussing early this morning. This kind of thing could not be done before. This is not to deny that I could hear Liz's group all the way down to Jack's area when I was there early in the morning. But with the cabinets up near the outer wall, they can group over by the blackboard and that, along with the ceiling and the rugs, baffles the sound pretty well so that they can carry on a full-fledged group instructional program.

10. See the implications of this point in a slum school as described by Smith and Geoffrey (1967).

This should make it easier for their style of work as time goes on. (12/7)

Anderson (1966) in his discussion of the changing American school house makes reference to the problem of noise as a stimulus in the environment of the pupil.

The question most frequently asked about classrooms without walls is, 'But what about the noise?' Oddly enough, noise problems have not proved severe, partly because floor carpeting and other acoustical devices have been provided, and partly because the teachers have learned to coordinate their schedules and isolate such noise producing activities as singing. Furthermore, acoustical engineers have concluded that the amount of sound interception necessary between groups may be much less than assumed. (p. 145)

At Kensington, the sound problem occurred early in the temporary quarters and remained in the new facilities. Part of the issue lies, as we have indicated elsewhere in the relationship to a concept such as density which Anderson also raises in the sentence which concludes the above quotation.

It also suggests that the overall space must be large enough in relations to the pupil population to permit adequate separation between work groups. (p. 145)

Relevance to specific lessons

The physical structure of Kensington permits no momentary interaction with the outside environment. With no windows and close to sound-proofed outer walls, little of the outside came in. Even in the summer workshop, one of the teachers commented, and we noted it as the first negative statement of the physical facilities, that the lack of windows would inhibit her use of weather, sun and sky in building experiences basic to concept development and background for the reading program. Presumably the capitalizing on momentary events of this kind is more critical with younger

children.

Retrievable physical stimuli

Just as the excellence of a library might be an operational definition of the quantity and quality of the ideational structure of a school, the amount of storage space represents the degree of retrievable physical stimuli. Just as an available stored puppet stage may be a useful prop for a language art lesson, so might other physical items help one to reach instructional goals. Classrooms and school buildings presumably can be placed on such a continuum. Two observations suggest our intent.

A further comment that came up in the discussions concerned the amount of closet storage space in the building. While everyone agreed that schoolteachers never felt they had enough storage space, Howard did comment that the architect was not able to get as much of that in as was originally desired. Tom raised the notion of how desirable it would have been to have a basement under most all of the building. I'm reminded here of the Washington School and the storage closet off the kindergarten. (12/10)

Proximity to "open space"

Proximity, or nearness in physical distance, looms large as a concept in a social psychological analysis. At the time of the move into the new building several observations and interpretations were made.

Similarly, in regard to space, the fact that David was able to move over into the other instruction area for his total group work suggests that he will try to commandeer that strictly through its immediate availability. A disclaimer on that exists, however, for Kay was over there with her group doing an arithmetic lesson around 10:30 this morning. My guess is that she will fight to have some access and use of the space. It should amount to more trouble for Liz who has to move one section further to use such space. (12/7)

Three days later, a brief comment recorded in the summary notes follows

up on prior observation.

In terms of the physical aspects of the building and its design, once again the behavior of David illustrates the notion of spreading out over territory. His group is almost constantly in the instructional area as well as in its own tuitional area. It won't be long, it seems, until that almost "belongs" to him. (12/10)

Patterns of Movement

In a building which has locations representing or providing specialized functions or services--play, food, reading, desks for study--then one will have movement within the building. Presumably doors and hallways were invented or co-opted by architects to facilitate this physical movement. Internally, Kensington did not have hallways. When individuals or groups of individuals went from one part of the building to another part, the issue of "patterns of movement" arose. The observers noted this shortly after the I.S.D. children came into the building.

Another aspect of the space situations concerns the fact that the Perception Core in the library is going to turn into one big combined hallway and multiple purpose room. There was a lot of traffic through here, the lunch materials are at one end and the rest rooms are just off this room also. My guess is, and particularly when there are more kids around, that it will never attain the degree of quiet that one needs to study effectively in such a group. I don't know how they will resolve that one. Similarly, the kitchen seems inappropriately located, for all the traffic to and from there will have to go by the principal's office and this should create some general confusion that is regular and persistent. When you more than double the number of children and the number of teachers, this should increase the problems also. (12/7)

Responsiveness to adult needs

Adults who have not lived for long periods of time in the company of large numbers of children seldom appreciate the immense gratification

which accrues from meeting such simple needs as moments of privacy, conversation--passing the time of day--with another adult, or the leisure of a cigarette. This dimension of a building we have named "responsiveness to adult needs." Kensington was to have a small teacher's lounge in the nerve center. Funds were not available to complete this. The Curriculum Center provided a functionally equivalent alternative.

I would guess also that the curriculum lab on the mezzanine will become a favorite hangout of the teachers in that it is somewhat removed and it is the only large and convenient lounge type space. Ultimately I would guess that the coffee pot will end up there rather than downstairs in the nerve center where it is supposed to be now.¹¹ Eugene and Tom tried smoking there as I was leaving and if that works out successfully, then most certainly it will become such a spot. (12/7)

Density

Density, the ratio of people to space, has been suggested by some social analysts (Hall, 1966) as an important dimension of social systems. The basic proposition we would note concerns the relationship between density and auditory stimulation, noise level. We speculate on number of related propositions in Figure 8.11.

Insert Figure 8.11 about here.

Our analysis attempts to seek the interdependencies between a proposition such as density increasing auditory stimulation and the myriad of organi-

11. The coffee pot remained downstairs, adjacent to the sink, in the hangout of the non-professional staff, and under the care of the matron.

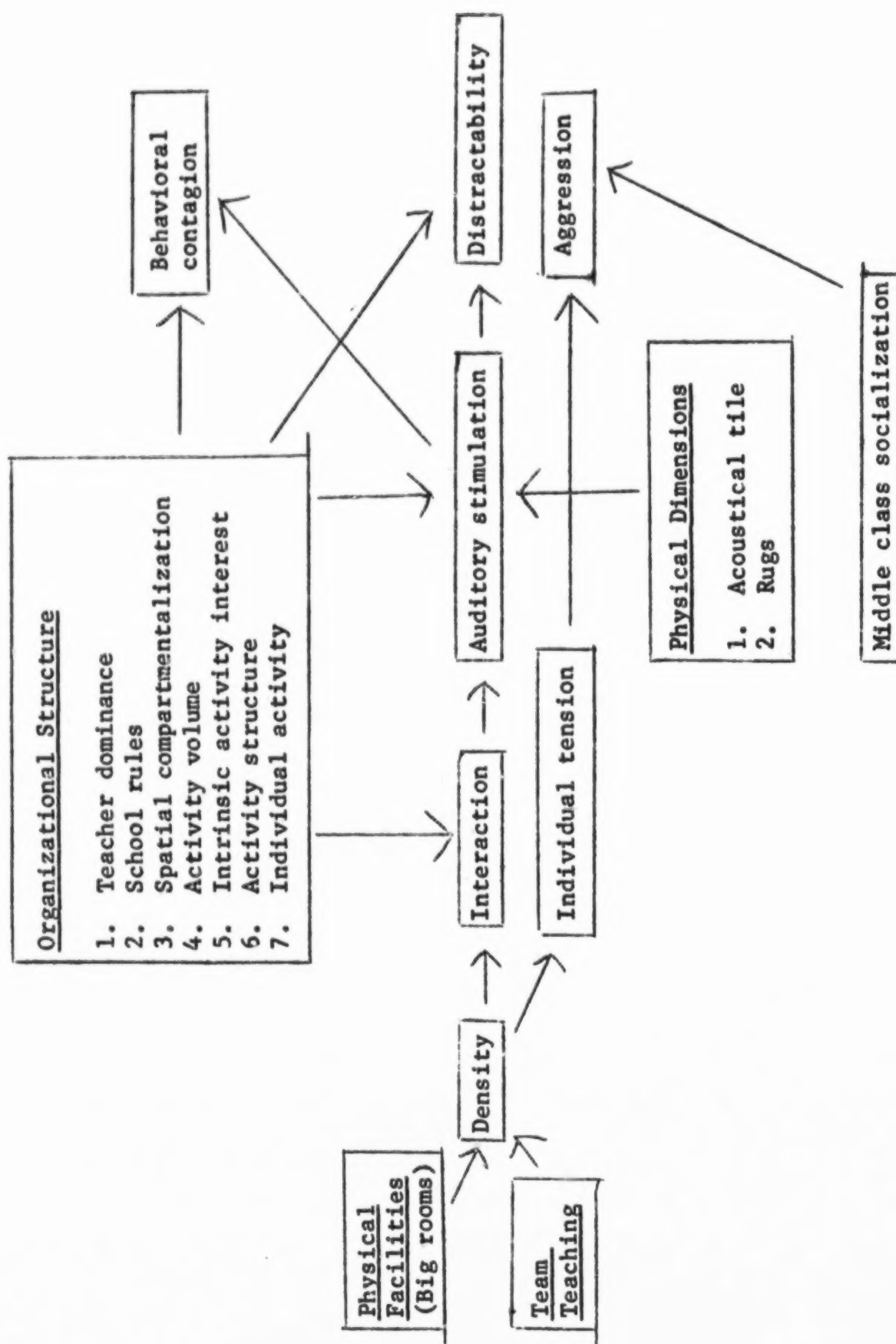


Figure 8.11. Implications of density in the dynamics of the Kensington School.

zational factors that hypothetically have significance.

Vested Interests

In spite of Edward Bellamy's predictions or visions, private property remains an important aspect of our culture. Physical items often belong to people. Although school buildings do not belong to people, they can be assessed in terms of the number and kind of people who have vested or emotional interests in them.

It is now 1:10 p.m. and I'm just leaving I.S.D. I had lunch with Tom, Howard, and a former school board member. Howard chaired the committee that drew up the specifications and Phil was on the board at the time this occurred. They had all kinds of experiences to tell about the early formation of the school. In terms of the methodology of getting in on Day One, the genesis of all of this goes back many, many days before August 10. The design of the spiral school came about, in Howard's recollection, from a teacher who commented at one of the meetings, and Howard couldn't remember which teacher, that we need a "spiral school to go with the spiral curriculum." About a half hour later in the meeting the architect went to the overhead projector and began to make sketches on transparencies. The original design was something of a S-shaped curve; through many approximations it ended up with the current design. Both Howard and Phil were in agreement about the many long hours that the school board and the committees spent arguing about the nature of the building and what would go in it. One of these things, for instance, was the kitchen which Howard said would provoke a two hour argument as soon as it was mentioned and no one wanted to say anything and get it started. . . Another very interesting point is the investment that a guy like Howard has in a building and also people such as Phil whom I had never even heard of before. (12/9)

Requisite skills and material props

Our continuing effort to make sense of material props appeared in another guise in December.

Another point I have been wanting to make and have for-

gotten to put in the notes concerns some of the use of equipment in the school. To my knowledge since the people have moved in they have not used the overhead projectors a single time while I was there. There has been a good bit of use of the blackboard with small groups gathered around the outside wall. One of the points I guess I would make is that to use the overhead with transparencies that have some important function requires a fairly sophisticated style of presentation and sophisticated awareness of what one is doing. My guess is that there are multiple cut off points, in a staircase type arrangement, that when you are at a certain level, this tool has little or no bearing whatever on the quality of the teaching. However, when one attains a body of material and some notion of the sorts of things that one wants to do with it, then the artistry comes in to play, and really makes a polished performance which utilizes the slides and the diagrams and the images that will tie points down very specifically, very concretely, and just exactly with what you want. For example, I can anticipate a person wanting to teach a concept and wanting to use 6 different sets of figures, graphs, pictures and data each of which might catch one or two kids in a way that the others would not capture them and, in effect, permit you to "individualize instruction to a very high degree."
(12/11)

Flexibility in physical facilities

Continuously we were faced with the need for a concept such as flexibility in discussing dimensions of physical facilities and materials. As the I.S.D. team altered its social structure, materials which were appropriate for one kind of organization became exceedingly inappropriate for another. The laboratory suite, without walls, for large numbers of students working mostly independently seems appropriate. However, when the organizational structure moves toward self-contained classroom units with some of the staff engaging in formal instruction, the large laboratory suite becomes considerably less adequate. Movable soundproof partitions seemed a reasonable compromise, as we speculated in January.

In thinking about the physical facilities in the discussion

this morning it seemed to me that the only real resolution to the problem of space and the organization of the school is to have the foldable sound proof walls separating each of the so called learning suite areas into separate rooms. This should exist from the kindergarten through the 6th grade. As teams of people find they can work together or as ideas for teams of two to teams of six occur, then these walls can be put up or taken down at a moment's notice. Anything more permanent than this becomes a real stumbling block and no walls at all is impossible.

(1/9)

Further information reveals that such walls or partitions are exceedingly expensive. In Milford, where taxes were high and bonded indebtedness was near the legal limit, economic aspects of physical facilities were critical.

Material props in the broader context

Materials can be analyzed for their impact on learning, or they can be seen in the broader organizational and institutional context. In Figure 8.12 we speculate on the implications of the material props.

Insert Figure 8.12 about here.

A number of the materials were acquired as gifts. Essentially this occurred because of the innovativeness of the doctrine and the physical facilities plus the entrepreneurial skills of several persons on the Milford and Kensington staffs. The consequences of the props were multiple and included such diverse items as the partial determination of the curriculum and the development of the facade.

Conceptions of physical facilities

The germ of our major conceptualization of physical facilities arose

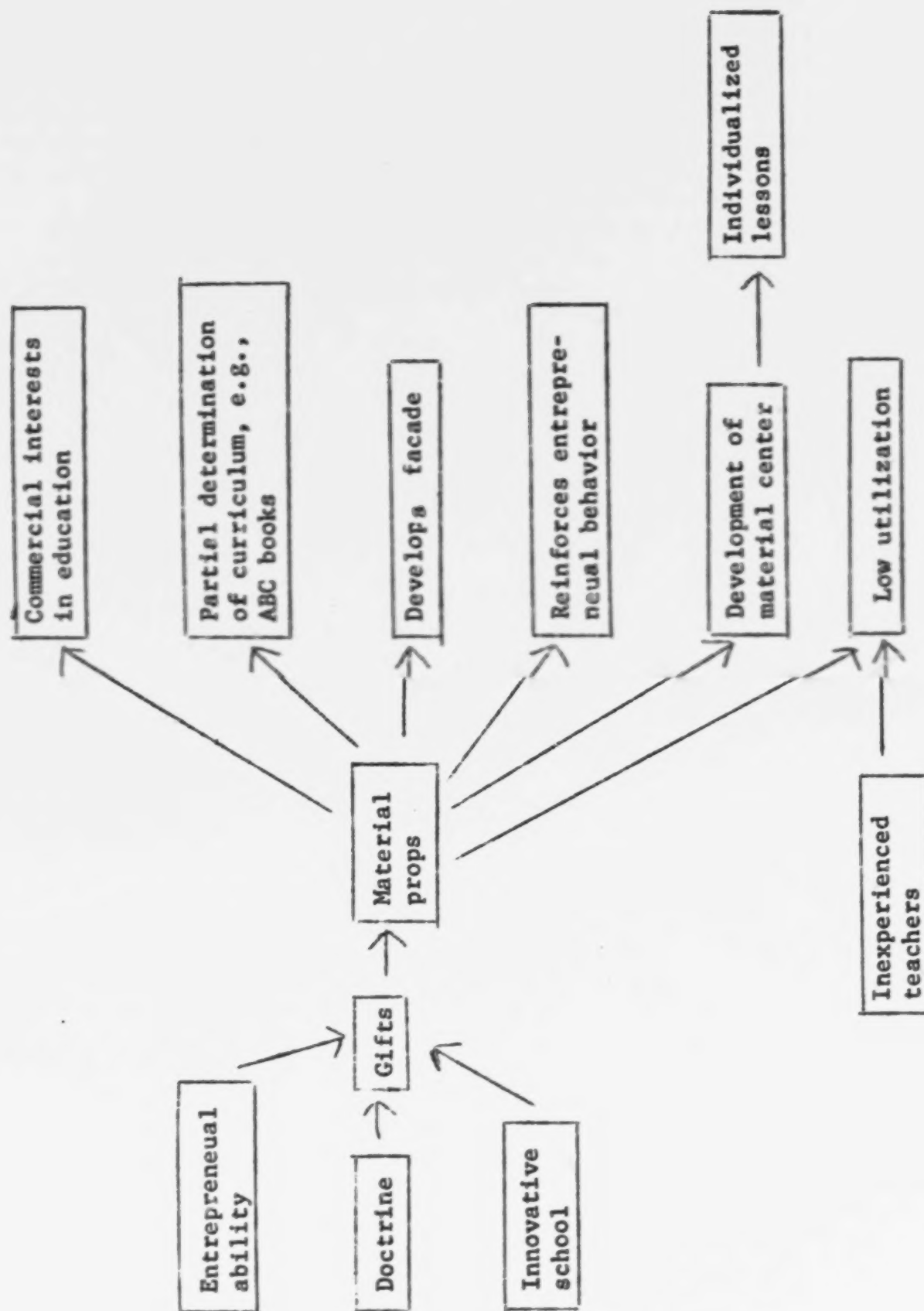


Figure 8.12. Material props in Kensington's broader context.

as we tried to make sense out of the impending move to the new building.

We noted it this way in December.

The building is so far from being ready that it is going to create a good many problems in implementing the program. The issue that keeps coming back to me again and again is that they're getting involved once again in situations that are not ready or are not prepared for them. And in what should be a beautiful and happy move to a crystallized physical setting which can implement the kind of program they want seems very likely to degenerate into a move into another "almost ready" kind of temporary setting that must be lived with for the moment. This will take some of the edge and some of the excitement and some of the novelty off of the new building. And what could be a real plus in terms of having them get on top of the world again will probably be a minus.

This way of looking at the physical facilities may well be the most important kind of analysis. The facilities can be catalogued into the level of probabilities that they will lead toward specific goals. Each piece of equipment then becomes comparable and "functionally equivalent" to any teacher behavior or any pupil behavior or any other item that has an instrumental quality to it. For example, if privacy is necessary for an individual conference, then the school building which has no privacy at all will not be functional in that regard. As an instrumentality or mechanism for reaching a goal, this particular goal, the probabilities are very low and, hence, the building becomes nonfunctional or dysfunctional. Similarly, if one has a proposition that large group instruction will lead to certain kinds of awareness of knowledge and if one of the conditions for large group instruction to work is quiet on the part of the surrounding environment, then a team setting with no walls will not be helpful. Also, if your social studies program does not require students to learn to make maps and identify geographical features on the globe, then the piece of equipment that is available, the chalk type work globes, can be labeled as non-functional for the program. It would have some dysfunctional consequences in that it would take up storage space. And it might have some other interesting kinds of ones in terms of leading to guilt on the part of the teachers who were not using them.

This suggests, then, the need to spell out very, very

carefully the goals and the sub-goals which are both a little more concrete and a little bit more closely related to what one does if one is to integrate the furniture, equipment, and physical resources. It permits one to look at pupils and at teachers and at administrative processes and at the formal and the informal organization, etc., under the same broader, more genotypical rubrics.

It permits also the integration of a set of ideas surrounding what might be called the "creativity of the teacher." Essentially what I'm referring to here is the teacher's ability to conjure up, invent, create, not only new goals but, more particularly, new ideas of how the same piece of equipment can be utilized to reach the goals. For instance, the outdoor shelter area with the slope which John has lamented and sees as nonfunctional for his program might well be made into a very appropriate roller skating rink or bank relay and running rink. While such ideas as these, have some impracticalities built in them also, it does serve to illustrate the particular point I want to make about being able to create or invent more functional modes for equipment that seems at the moment not to be that way. If we could solve the physical resources and the creative teaching problem areas under this kind of rubric, it seems to me we will have made a significant stride. This would permit us also to go through a whole inventory or catalogue of the equipment that is available, the uses to which it's been put, and the possibilities that might exist. In effect, a textbook can be a pretty flexible piece of equipment for it can be a total program, on the one hand, or it can be a set of units to be selected and materials to be utilized, on the other hand. It has such built in advantages as being written at a level that the majority of the children can understand and that there are copies available for the majority of the children if you want to use them that way. It has further advantages of having connections historically with things they had a year ago and in the future with things they'll have most likely the next year or so. In effect, this section might be titled "Functional Analysis of Materials, Equipment, and Textbooks."

RESEARCH IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: A CONCLUDING INNOVATION

An important part of Kensington's ideology and program centered on

research. As we have indicated the teachers were encouraged to innovate and to depart from the traditional in their teaching. In this Deweyian sense, Kensington was an experimental school. Moreover, the staff had three members who sought doctoral dissertations in the school. In August, the school established a research committee of a half dozen interested members. One of the consultants used the school as a clinical setting for trying out his ideas as well as engaging in formal data collection on reading instruction. In addition, the district contracted with the present investigators, Smith and Keith, who in turn contracted with the U. S. Office of Education for research support. Our central contention is that this amount and kind of research is an educational innovation of major importance.

This part of the story of Kensington, and an interesting part to the present investigators, surrounded the orientation of the central office staff to the need for impartial investigation and research. In the Spring of the year before the school opened, discussions occurred among the principal investigator and the superintendent, curriculum director and principal. The initiative for the research came from the school district.

In talking about what I might do in the situation, I shied very strongly away from the possibility of actually getting involved in a consulting role or a teaching role in terms of how the staff might function. I argued strongly that I was mostly interested in the research analysis role. This I think we got squared away very well. Also, I raised very definitely several of the foci of interests I would have. The development of the faculty in terms of how it became a working unit, the development of the children as they came to view and respond to the school situation, and then quite specifically on the principal as a decision maker in such a setting. At the latter point I raised specifically the real hazards and the tremendously gainful business it is to have some-

body shadow you. I told them about Geoffrey's¹² problems and indicated that they would be as great or worse here.
(4/17, pre-experimental year)

The notes on that discussion concluded this way.

Briefly to summarize next steps: I am going to draft a copy of the possible research project to be submitted to the U. S. Office of Education and the curriculum director will check the superintendent's belief about getting matching funds. All in all, it looks like it probably will go if each of us wants it to.
(4/17, pre-experimental year)

Several weeks later, the principal investigator met with the superintendent. The brief notes summarizing this conference contain the basic ingredients of the relationship.

Essentially I presented the kinds of issues that I saw lying in the way of reaching an agreement. This was after a brief comment of the superintendent's of "When do we start?" I raised the point of freedom of access and he promised complete freedom and even offered spontaneously the use of files and records. I raised also the problem and degree of involvement I would like to have which would be very high. This he agreed to also. We spoke of the split between the research and the consulting roles and the fact that my preference lay with the research role rather than the consulting role. Once again he agreed with this. He talked some about how other university personnel might be brought in for the consulting aspects. I commented that it was all right with me if it was all right with them.
(5/6 pre-experimental year)

The activities of the conference included also a consideration of the content of the study.

We went through the report of the first draft of the application that I had written and both he and Mr. Cohen responded quite positively to it. I left copies with them so that they could make additional comments as they saw fit. All in all the discussions took about a half

12. The reference is to William Geoffrey, a teacher in a slum school who was co-investigator in an earlier study. (Smith & Geoffrey 1965, and Smith and Geoffrey, 1967).

an hour and they seemed to go very well. I left feeling quite good and that the project could be a most interesting one.
(5/6 pre-experimental year)

Later the investigator summarized the final part of the preliminary arrangements.

Since then I have clarified the budget and sent copies to them. And, this morning made final arrangements with the curriculum director. He had read the materials again and sent a copy to the principal. The principal's major reaction was that I had accented the building rather than the program and he thought that the building was the least important or the lesser of the two anyway. Other than that I did not feel that they had made any fundamental criticisms of the application.

(5/6 pre-experimental year)

Other aspects of the research program moved along much less satisfactorily. The three staff members who had had hopes of completing doctoral dissertations found that their time was consumed totally by the needs for program implementation.¹³ The more informal interests in research expressed by several staff during the workshop week did not reach fruition.

One of the consultants, interested in individualized instruction in reading in all divisions, implemented a broad program of tape recording lessons, questioning the staff, and providing feedback through group meetings and interviews. As we have indicated elsewhere, in our judgment, the conception was fascinating and exciting. However, the pressures on staff time, some interpersonal conflicts, the mixing of research and consulting roles, and the other commitments which prevented him from being

13. Some additional complexities in their relationships with their advisors and university departments existed also.

closely in contact with the school contributed to the gradual demise of the project.

In summary, the critical aspects seem to be these: 1) The school district wanted the research carried out. 2) In every conceivable way the school staff honored their agreements and gave the research team access and support. 3) The principal investigator made a serious misestimation--a latent and unanticipated dysfunctional consequence--of the cost and time involvements.¹⁴ The project was under-financed and should have run twice as long. The press of other activities and commitments meant that this report was completed a year and a half after the first year of Kensington's operation. It meant also that the U. S. Office waited over a year for the final report on its contract. 4) The need to divide research and other operational roles seems most important. The research seemed to get crowded out if it was carried with other responsibilities.

The reader who is unfamiliar with educational organizations and who may not appreciate the atypicality of Milford and Kensington in regard to these summary generalizations should note the state of the field as described by Miles in his book, Innovation in Education.

Thus the question of the fate of innovations is an extremely critical one. . . However, the question of adoption and continuation begs the more fundamental question, the one which an innovation's proponents usually answer automatically and positively: Is it really effective?

Yet. . . a near axiomatic statement is this: Educational innovations are almost never evaluated on a systematic basis. . .

To illustrate: it has been pointed out that less than half

14. Some functional consequences occurred also as the Introductory Epilogue implies.

of one percent of nationally financed experimental programs in a large state were systematically evaluated. . .

(1964, p. 657)

By taking the research initiative, the leaders in the Milford School District were behaving in a unique and innovative fashion. More generally, part of the formal doctrine centered on Kensington's being an experimental school. In the sense of being innovative, of permitting and fostering quite varied and idiosyncratic teaching styles and formats, of being open to considerable brief observation to educators throughout the country, and by subjecting itself to systematic outside observation, Kensington was very much an experimental school.

ON TRUE BELIEF IN AN INNOVATIVE ORGANIZATION

Introduction

In a seminal book, The True Believer, Eric Hoffer states the proposition,

Some kind of widespread enthusiasm or excitement is apparently needed for the realization of vast and rapid change. . .

(p. 13)

Elsewhere he describes the extreme of enthusiasm and excitement as embodied in an individual.

. . .the true believer--the man of fanatical faith who is ready to sacrifice his life for a holy cause. . . (p. 10)

The parallels between our observations in an innovative school and Hoffer's more general argument suggested an important opportunity for mutual stimulation. Our developing analysis could test the conception offered by Hoffer and his ideas could serve as guides for additional insights.

As always, the field notes would arbitrate the differences.

As we partook of the Kensington experience and as we tried to analyze it, the emotional quality loomed large. Consequently this section of the report becomes an analysis of sentiment. This broad rubric has been defined by Homans (1950):

Now let us go back to our passage again and consider another set of words and phrases: sentiments of affection, affective content of sympathy and indulgence, intimate sympathy, respect, pride, antagonism, affective history, scorn, sentimental nostalgia. . . Here we shall call them all sentiments, largely because that word has been used in a less specialized sense than some of the others, and we shall speak of sentiment as an element of social behavior. (pp. 37-38)

Our particular concern will be upon sentiment within the dynamics of Kensington. We will continue to utilize our functional analysis as we seek antecedents and consequences of sentiments and related phenomena.

Functions and Dysfunctions of Sentiments

The sentiment of enthusiasm

In the Summary Observations of the field notes, the observer reflected after the first day's workshop experience with the Kensington staff:

Another thing that I'm struck with, and it may be just because I don't know our own undergraduate education students as well, is the degree to which these people, and particularly the young ones, are excited by the kind of thing that they are doing in education. Our kids just do not carry this flavor of excitement. I am struck, too, by how much of this, and the references to which they appeal, especially people of the order of John Goodlad, are unknown and are not widely discussed, at least among the staff at City U. We have in effect abandoned this kind of approach or set of variables and at least in my case, without having considered the evidence (which my colleagues would probably say did

not exist) and the careful argument about the programs. I guess the point I want to make is that there is an excitement about teaching and about the things that they are going to be trying, even though they are not very specific and clear about this yet, that pervades the place which I just have not seen in any degree at City U. This enthusiasm as a consequence alone would seem to me to be so meritorious as to argue for the point of view's inclusion almost regardless of the validity of the position. That one will need to be straightened out in some detail. (8/11)

As we have described earlier, the antecedents of this enthusiasm seem to lie in staff selection, the developing aura, and in the administrative support. The major consequences, among a large number, seem to be several-fold: first, it focussed and channeled tremendous energy into making the School a reality. While this was true for the entire staff, David's early behavior came to typify for us the untold hours of work everyone engaged in. Three serious problems, however, seemed to be raised by this high enthusiasm. The organization over-committed itself. By this we mean, the staff took on a number of responsibilities and activities for which they did not have the resources. The best illustrations included the early attempts of the Basic Skills Division to write reading materials and the staff's attempt, through its curriculum committee, to develop an overall curriculum design. The second major dysfunction concerned the minimizing or ignoring of the procedural or day-to-day practical realities, the "nuts and bolts" issues as the staff called them. Concomitantly, the focus of the doctrine and the facade interwove with this neglect of the mundane procedural demands. Third, the faculty engaged in what we have called total commitment. They worked on school affairs literally during all their waking hours. This precipitated problems for those who had family and community obligations. In time this reverberated back into

the staff as a point of conflict and contention. Figure 8.13 contains the model of these implications.

Insert Figure 8.13 about here.

The interrelationships among enthusiasm, training and knowledge arose dramatically as substantive issues in pedagogy began to arise during the workshop.

Another phenomenon that has struck me, is that everyone in this workshop is devoting time and attention to professional matters in a way that I, personally, have never seen by our undergraduate elementary education students or by a school faculty. In this sense, the motivation is really intense and strong, and the people are willing to devote considerable energy with the task at hand. There are some interesting aspects about this because this is done within the limitations of their ability and their training. I cringe with the notion of how much more these people ought to know about reading, how much more they ought to know about social studies methods, and how inadequate most of their training has been as they talk about it, and how crucial it might be for what they are doing. Without question, the teacher education set-up, at least as I know it, is really confused. Yet, the drama of this kind of involvement is quite exciting. (8/21)

Total commitment

When one commits oneself to an organization, one pledges or binds a portion of his time, energy and skills. Typically, the organization reciprocates in the form of financial compensation, recognition, and other items valuable to an individual. By total commitment we mean an increase in time and energy beyond the formally contracted "eight hours per day" and beyond the professional knowledges and skills. Satisfactions and rewards which typically come from investing time and energy in family,

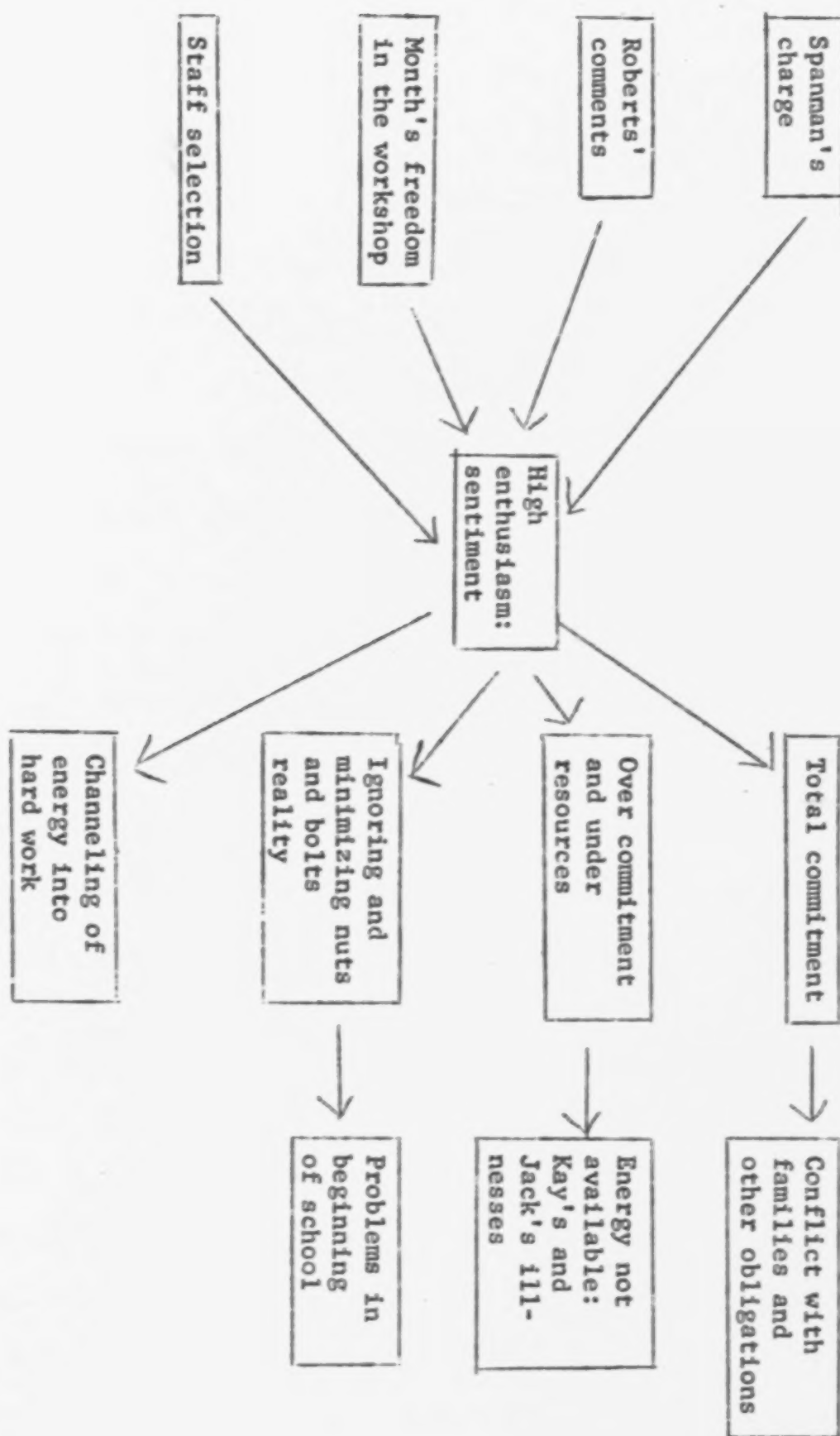


Figure 8.13. Manifest and latent antecedents and consequences of high enthusiasm.

friends, church, clubs, community services, hobbies and recreational pursuits are relinquished and diverted into the organization.

As we have indicated, one hypothesis we offer is that this develops in part as a consequence of high enthusiasm. In Kensington, the ideology surrounding the development of the fully-functioning pupil contributed to it as well.

The consequences of over commitment become significant at Kensington when one considers the independently developing strand of social conflict and interpersonal hostility. A major consequence of total commitment is vulnerability. When one's total reward and satisfaction structure is tied to one source, failure of that source through events in or without one's own control and potency can have severe consequences.¹⁵ As hostility increased, as portions of the program failed, as administrative support changed several faculty members were subjected to intense frustration, anxiety and severe personal debilitation. We have tried to depict these relationships in Figure 8.14.

Insert Figure 8.14 about here.

At the end of the second week, the observer noted:

During our coffee break discussion, I raised the question of the norms about how much time they should be spending on school problems and how long the day would be, and how and when they would carry out the time for planning, etc. There isn't much clarity on this, but the girls who responded indicated that they were literally

15. This seems to be the essence of the old proverb regarding all of one's eggs being in a single basket.

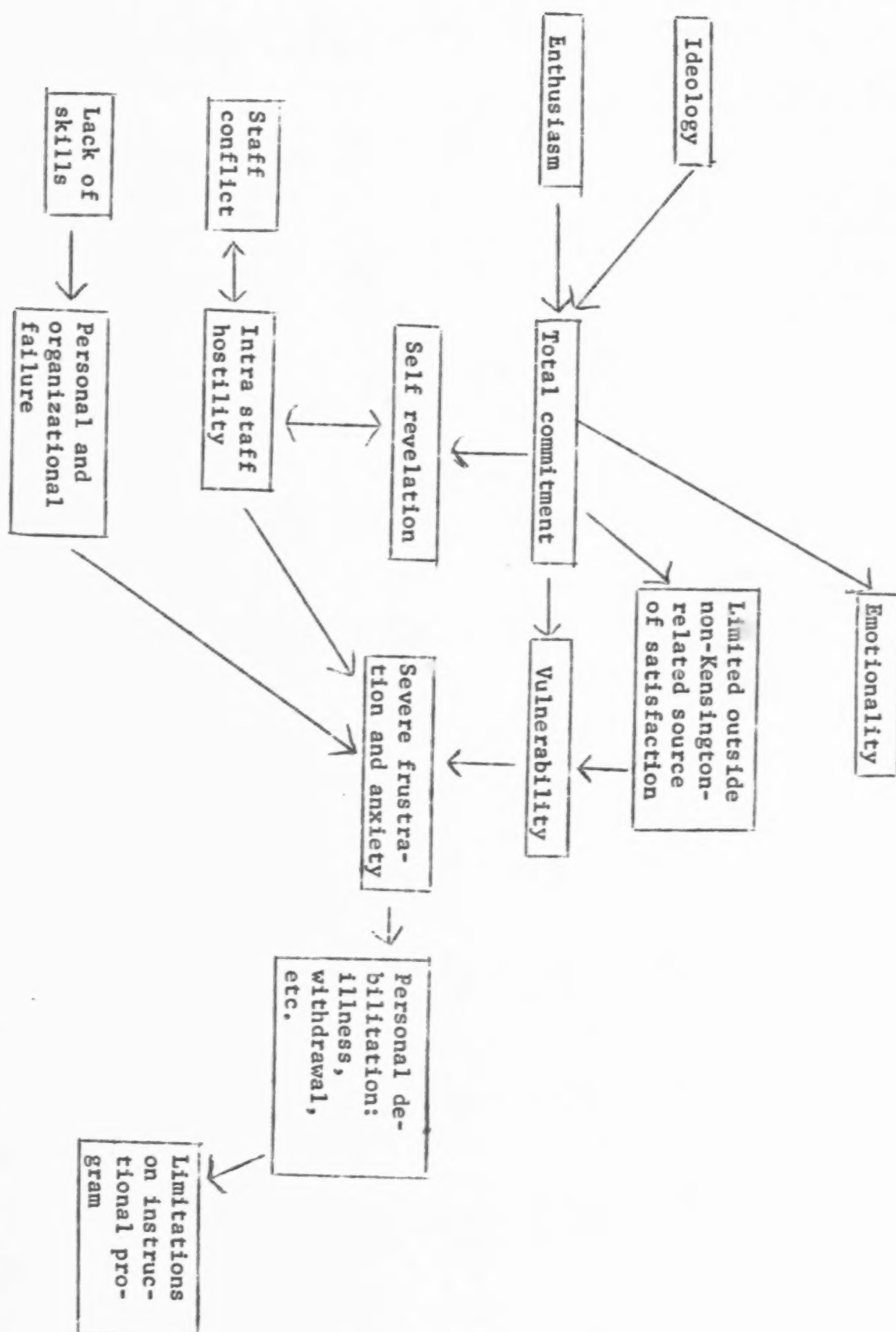


Figure 8.14. Antecedents, correlates and consequences of total commitment.

working on school problems all the time. One of the schisms here is that the group with no family and no social life independent of the school, as yet, literally are involved through most of their waking existence. Most of them saw this as, over the long run, not desirable. Specifically, in terms of planning, Kay thought they might be having team meetings before school around 8:00 and curriculum and other such meetings at some time off and on during the day. (8/21)

Ten days later, the observer speculates in a similar vein.

Theoretically, perhaps one of the most crucial issues that I see now lies in the degree of personal involvement that one needs to carry out the task of teaching. How much of one's life needs to be committed to the task, how much of it needs to be open, and what kinds of agreements do you need rather than some superficial methods of working together? For instance, if the roles can be spelled out bureaucratically, and if one agrees to those, is that the sum and substance of it and does there need to be any kind of personal involvement beyond that. In one sense, the first week has opened up all of these other issues about who I am, where I am going, etc., which then can be used prejudicially toward one another. For instance, Bill Kirkham's obvious ambition might have been held under better check and better control if he had not revealed his "true goals" due to this softening up process. The question I have really, is, Could he have worked with this group as a functioning member even though he held these other ambitions more latently? On the surface my guess would be that he could. It seems to me that this would be possible for Jack Davis also. And, in one sense, it seems to be that he's defined his role that way. He will not be involved as an assistant academic counselor although the majority of the others will be. Another idea that this has cued off concerns the report that several of the people had been developing strategies for resisting Bill and dealing with him in many of the things that he was proposing. (8/31)

The consequences in self revelation, vulnerability, and severe frustration and anxiety (especially among the I.S.D. team members) were to be felt all year long.

All embracing goals

In his discussion of cooperative teaching, Shaplin (1965) attributes to teaming what seems to belong more to innovativeness and true belief.

One of the major confusions in the team-teaching movement has been the tendency to claim all-embracing objectives and goals, on a grandiose scale, phrased in the most general terms. The goals of the team must be consistent with its size and capability. (p. 17)

At Kensington, the teams were caught to some degree on the high aspiration and limited resources dilemma, but more basically it was the entire school which was entangled. With overtones from the various statements of the formal doctrine and with concrete efforts in the committees of the workshop era and later in the regular total staff meetings and especially in the curriculum meetings, Kensington attempted important but large alterations in American education. As we have analyzed in our discussion of resources, the requirements for such a task as they attempted required time, and specialized personnel far beyond what is available to a school district, much less a single school, even one as well endowed as Kensington.

On choosing one's "gods and bibles"

Kensington, not only by being a part of a larger school system, but also by design, tried to be a rational organization. Even in rational organizations there are problems which defy rationality. The selection of goals and the tremendous complexity of some educational decisions requires one to settle some issues arbitrarily. At such times it seems convenient to have agreement on "gods and bibles." We saw this developing at several points.

On Monday morning, August 17th, the Principal discussed the curric-

ulum and the overall framework. In doing this he made explicit reference to Planning and Organizing for Teaching, a book by Goodlad (1963) in the N.E.A. "Project Instruction." The field notes report it this way:

Several models. Bill gives a mimeo summary. Eugene thanks Bill and develops ideas: "Model A--function to cover and inculcate body of material. Organization in grades. Model B--same task--prescribed body of knowledge by levels. No grades but 12-20 levels. Attempt to deal with individual differences by rate of progress. Model C has different function--learner centered, ways of knowing and thinking, a conceptual approach to learning, function of effective functioning individual, need different organization, Kensington is this way. What are the implications for curriculum? What do pupils need for junior high--these books? concepts? skills? Here again I suspect we have wide differences. If junior high teacher complains he doesn't know solar system, I'm tempted to say I don't care. I don't think we have a prescribed body of subject matter." (8/17)

Another item which came up this morning in a before school discussion concerned one of the issues I think I would like to become gradually familiar with, and to be able to talk about explicitly-- the kind of intellectual authority to which the teachers and the pupils in the building appeal. Also, some notion of how this develops. So far the ASCD Yearbooks on Knowing, Perceiving, and Becoming, and the one on Individualizing Instruction are two critical volumes. Another critical set of volumes concerns the NEA reports of people like Goodlad. About these I have already talked on another day. Today one of the books that I noticed around was Berelson and Steiner's Generalizations or Principles of Psychology which David was carrying with him. (8/18)

As we have tried to analyze this, the heart of the issue seems to be two-fold: the problems of goals by definition are an affirmation of faith, at least at the ultimate level. Particular goals can be rationalized as means to the ultimate goals. Second, problems very quickly become very complex. This complexity is often cut through most easily by accepting the analysis made by an authority. Consequently the flow of influences in Figure 8.15 appears. These seem facilitated by the combined influence

of the Principal, the district Curriculum Director, the Institutional Plan, and the formal doctrine.

Insert Figure 8.15 about here.

The unassailable belief

An unassailable belief is an idea which is unyielding to attack, or to analysis. In August, after his first interview with Shelby, the interviewer recorded a paragraph in the field notes:

It is now 3:15 p.m. I have just spent almost four and a half hours with Eugene, the Principal of the Kensington School. Summarily I might comment that our discussions moved from a general coolness and skepticism to the development of what I think is going to be quite real warmth, rapport, and ease of working together. The initial coolness centered around, I think, my skepticism and close questioning as to how the program would work and how it would function. Eugene is very committed to the whole idea and is very excited about it. It seems as if he were jolted by the fact that someone who is to be intimately involved might really question the whole purpose and approach. Along about the first third we got this clarified in that I made some comment that I had just come out of a very traditional situation and also that part of my gambit was to be critical and skeptical so as to push him to speak more definitively about what he was going to do and how the building was going to function. As the discussion moved on, I began to catch some of his excitement. Also we began to find some commonality in issues upon which we have some basic agreement.

(8/8)

Such conviction seems to create a charisma among the staff which furthers the commitment and the enthusiasm. Also we would argue, some blind spots are created, some issues are not thought through, and dysfunctional consequences enter the picture.

Insert Figure 8.16 about here.

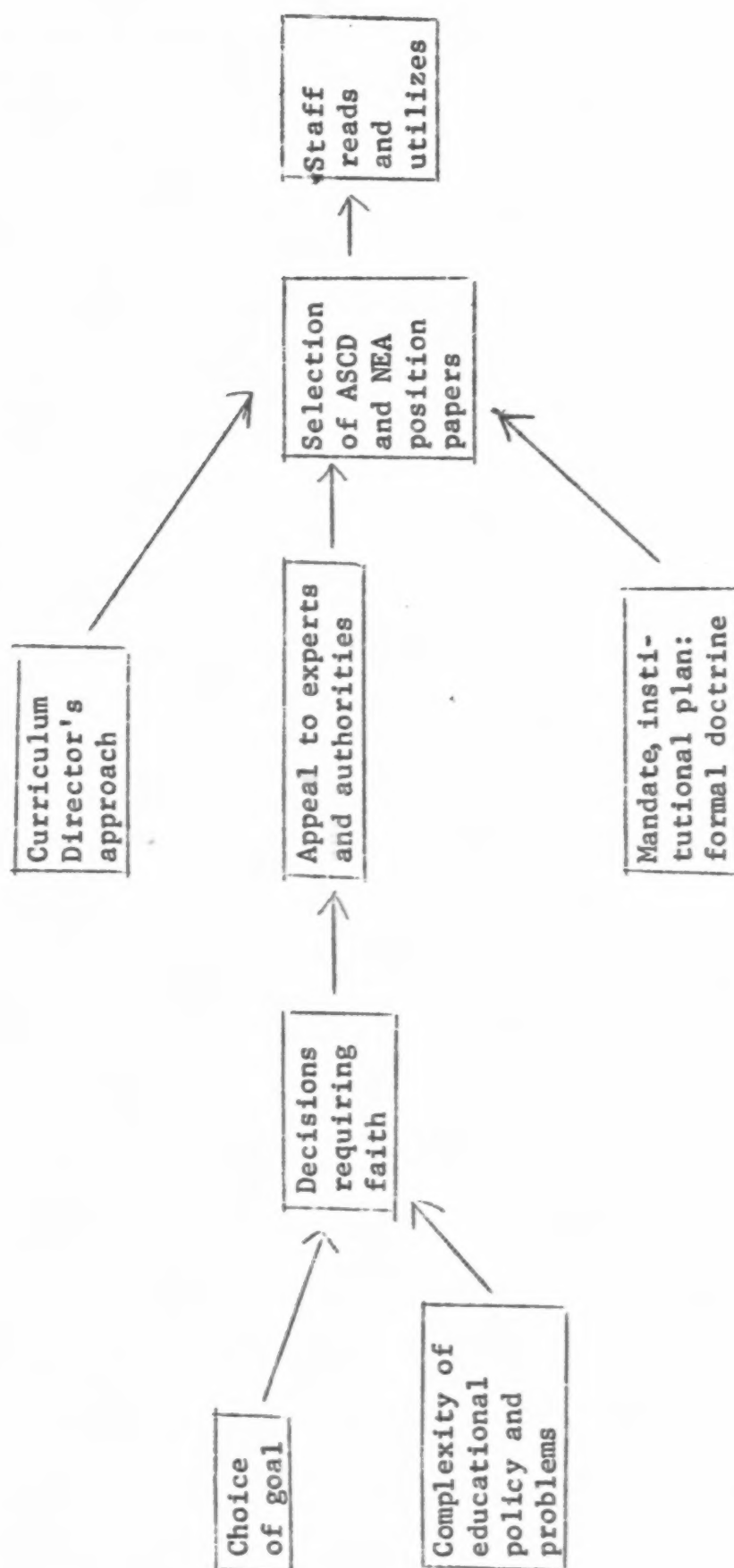


Figure 8.15. Dynamics in the development of "gods and bibles."

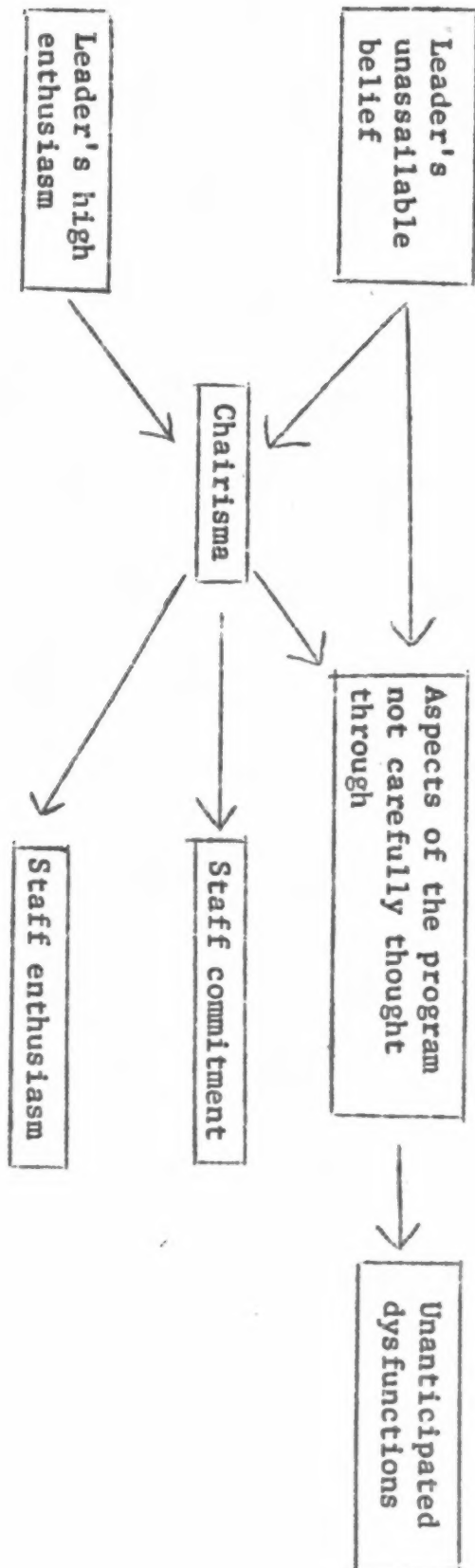


Figure 8.16. Implications of an unassailable belief.

Jargon

At Kensington, little was called by a usual name. Teachers were not teachers, they were academic counselors and resource specialists. Classrooms were laboratory suites and the library was the perception core. Grade levels were gone and divisions --Basic Skills, Transition, and Independent Study--took their place. A jargon, the technical vocabulary of a science, art, trade, sect, profession or other special group, arose. While in part necessary for the novel and unique aspects of the organization it had a variety of additional functions.

One of the negative aspects was caught in the August field notes as one of the staff reflected on the new terminology:

She feels that the entire group has been brainwashed. She likened it to the communist attempt at brainwashing people. She gave a specific instance, the failure of staff members to use certain terminology. She did not feel that one could use words such as textbook, teach, curriculum, subject matter, and other special words. She further stated that if one could say the same things only in different words it would be quite acceptable. She said, "If this isn't brainwashing, I don't know what is." She further mentioned that when she got finished with this year, there would be three words that she would never use again. These words are conceptualize, fully-functioning, and process. (8/26)

In Figure 8.17 we have indicated some of the additional implications of this part of the social structure. It served as a rallying point for some of the staff, and a point of contention for others, provided copy for news media and contributed in this way to the facade, and for visitors and parents it provided evidence of the uniqueness of the organization while on occasion it prevented careful specific thought and evaluation of the school and its program.

Insert Figure 8.17 about here.

Ideological inconsistencies

Early, also, came the problems of ideological inconsistency, which seems prone to happen in any new movement. Time and criticism moves most positions toward consistency. The Kensington doctrine was still in the throes of these problems:

Another vague kind of feeling I have is the dissonance regarding the cult of the group and the cult of the individual. It seems to me that the people have both of these to a very high degree and that they are inconsistent and will be very troublesome in getting worked out. For instance, the group training laboratory accents the groupish part and in one sense the people are all in favor of this, yet they are getting squeezed very hard. While on the one hand they laud the group, on the other hand they all want to retreat to their own individual quietness and privacy. Just how this will work out when the children arrive I don't know.

High enthusiasm, so it seemed, in August, led to holding of beliefs which were only partially consistent. Other aspects of the doctrine contributed to the inconsistencies, as we commented in Chapter Six. The issue seems particularly critical in education when individual development in the context of a group setting occurs.

Futuristic orientation

As Crest, the innovative psychiatric hospital (Stotland and Kobler, 1965), was spurred on by hope, enthusiasm, and possibility of future success, so was Kensington. The futuristic orientation which was adopted in the first few months of school continued through the year, although the focus changed considerably.

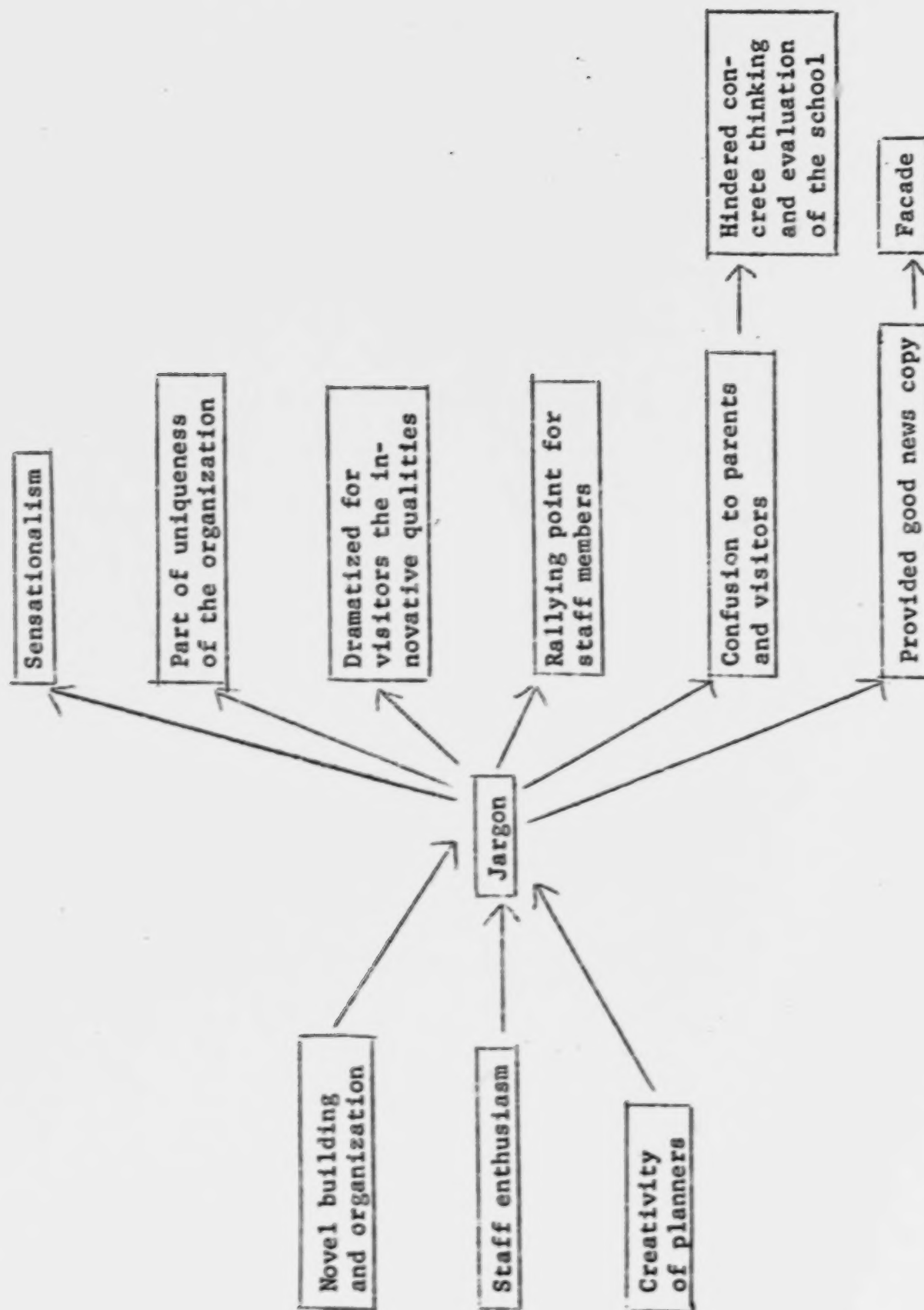


Figure 8.17. Role of jargon in an innovative organization.

In retrospect, a latent function of the three-month temporary housing becomes clear. The new building became the point on which faculty sights were set, the frame of reference by which current behavior was weighed and by which it was evaluated. In some aspects the building and the anticipated influence that it was to exert grew to messianic proportions. In part, it was not unrealistic, for the physical design was to serve as one means toward adherence to the ideology. In that the anticipation of a new building was cause for hope and a renewal of enthusiasm in the face of increasing intra-faculty pressures, utilization of it seems functional. However, to a much lesser extent the building came to be for some of the staff a panacea for inter-personal staff difficulties. Even given this condition, which may have made for a solidifying of patterns felt to be capable of flexibility later, for a time the hope expressed in the beauty and uniqueness of the building seemed to serve as a balm to lessen faculty tensions.

The noise, drudgery, and very close physical proximity of the first few months in the temporary quarters contributed to partial esprit de corps among the staff. This enabled them to present a united facade to the parents even when the inter-personal difficulties were greatly shaping and modifying the organizational structure. (See the earlier comment on the reorganization in I.S.D.) The notes contain some of the informal staff comments early in the fall. At the same time Shelby seemed to express faith and hope in the building as likely to influence change in both teacher and pupil structure. He noted that "Some parents are expecting problems to be solved in the new building; some will be better and some worse." Yet, Jack Davis, while in the temporary quarters, stated that "It's hard for me to get real excited here because of the new building."

Tom asked, "Do you feel things will be less acute in the new building?" and Jack replied, "Yes, a larger area, more things to do, more places to go, etc. Should be helped with the new situation. Kids and parents are looking forward to it. There might be more room for movement. I don't know." Then David added, "I think they (the parents) will give us until then. They're being fair, but if nothing changes, they'll be disappointed."

In effect, hope in the future seemed to flow from inexperience in August, and from frustration in the early Fall. As we noted in the introductory epilogue, hope in the future was displaced, finally, out of the Milford District and into P.S. 2100 (where Eugene was going) and into the more limited individual careers and opportunities of the staff.

Staff: Antecedents of True Belief

Uniqueness of staff in an innovative organization

Staff selection is always a critical organizational problem. At Kensington, where turnover was so high, and where we have made generalizations about "true believers," it's critical to refer to our early notes and the questions of why teachers might come to a school such as Kensington.

This has been a very full day and it is difficult to get all the details in that one must. One of the kinds of things that seems to me to be most relevant is trying to state initially why people are in this situation at the Kensington School. The general motives and goals became more and more explicit as the day wore on. For instance, Tom is working in the curriculum and instruction area and has about completed a doctorate. He has several years experience as a teacher, as a visiting teacher, and as a school principal. Actually five years in the latter. This kind of experience in the Kensington School as the key man in the Perception Core area will give him a very unique experience which will enable

him to move to almost any teacher's college curriculum and instruction department in the country. And probably with a very good salary and with a very unique position. Almost the exact same thing can be said for the "other administrator" in our small group, Bill. He's on the make and he wants to move ultimately into a college curriculum situation. He is working on his doctorate at State University. Running through the entire group, including these two people, is some desire to finally get into a position where they could carry out teaching operations in line with the kinds of theory and preaching they have been doing. This, when the kids come into the building, should make a very interesting day of reckoning for some of them. One or two look more like individuals who are trying to solve their own personal problems. Wanda and Jean look like individuals who have taught a while, although in Jean's case just a few years, and are interested in being able to implement some of the things that they weren't able to do in the other building. Another seems more like a hostile subject matter specialist who is going to show all of the stupid education professors just how it should have been done. Kay apparently had a very enjoyable, exciting experience in her internship and seemingly wants to elaborate and build upon this. (8/10)

Later the same day, I chatted a few minutes about a number of things with Bill. He raised the problem that I might be interested in the personal goals of the people on the staff. Alec and John were around at the time. In effect, he was saying that many of the people were using the School as a jumping-off place for later things. He argues that this determines some of the things e.g., makes a difference, in what he does, because he will ultimately move on from here. It is interesting that I had been raising the same notion in my notes this morning. He came from a position of principal which is hard for a number of people to understand. Alec reported some Welcome Wagon making such comments to his wife. John raised the same kind of notion that many of his friends from Ohio were skeptical as to why he would be coming here in that he has finished all of his course work for his doctorate and also has had a couple of years college teaching experience. Alec has everything done for his M.A. thesis which he hopes to complete shortly, sometime this year I think. (8/10)

In retrospect, and with the additional comments from a post-year visit, we are in a position to see elements of staff uniqueness in an innovative

organization.

She, one of the teachers, said, very interestingly, that two of the new teachers had come to Kensington on the basis of the National Weekly Magazine article and she indicated I knew how erroneous that was.

(Post-experimental year 7/19)

The selection procedure of the local teachers who had worked for a year with Shelby was never stated formally. Several times statements were made regarding differences in philosophy within the staff. As early as the first week in the training group--when the group seemed to be in the doldrums and unable to make progress--one of the teachers commented that "Last year's faculty meetings were about as bad as this"; Shelby concurred. The point, however, which we wish to make is that the teachers he brought with him were supportive of him in a totally different situation. They were the "liberals" or "progressives" in a very conservative faculty. At Kensington they were the "moderates" to "right wingers".

The dominance of inexperience

The man on the street, the practical man, and the man of affairs, all seem to utilize a concept such as "experience" as they think about their organizations. Social scientists (e.g., March and Simon, 1958; Blau and Scott, 1962), tend to make less use of it and have not engaged in intensive theoretical reduction of the concept. In the Kensington story, it loomed large. Recall our brief introduction to the staff. Of the twenty-one original members, seven had not taught. One of the fourteen who had taught was removed before school began and replaced by an inexperienced substitute. Nine additional staff members, five aides and four student teachers, had had minimal or no work experience in the public schools.

Analytically, several aspects seem crucial. In part the administrative authorities had deliberately planned the organization in this manner. They did not want old solutions to educational problems. In their own words, they felt it would be easier to train inexperienced personnel in new approaches than to retrain experienced persons. Experience, in this usage seems to be a broad personality variable including such schema dimensions as awareness of problems and classical solutions to problems. Additionally, we would argue, it contains trait and skill dimensions in executing these solutions and a high probability of success in such execution. For instance, if a child or class is having difficulty in understanding a concept in science or social studies, classical solutions would suggest that the teacher present a relevant illustration, exercise, or book passage to be read. Besides knowing the specific content or title, the experienced teacher would know that it was "sure fire," that it had a high probability of reaching the goal, because she had sorted these through trial and error and had a residual set of solutions. The inexperienced teacher probably would have a less wide repertory (although this seems linked closely with a more general creativity dimension), considerably less high-probability solutions, and probably less confidence in her tactics. Insofar as confidence produces cues of a self-fulfilling prophecy sort--both pupil compliance and pupil confidence of success--it becomes exceedingly important.

A further aspect of teacher motivation, beyond specific confidence, is the high enthusiasm for the cause, the ideology, which one might expect in a greater degree in the inexperienced as opposed to the experienced. This we have described already.

Finally, we would tie this analysis with our more general conception of unanticipated consequences. Experience seems, to us, to be a major variable in minimizing the frequency of latent and unanticipated consequences in both individual and group decision making. Within the individual this is almost by definition, although one's enthusiasm often outruns one's rationality. In the group situation, we have considerably more to say about the role of ideology, use of power, prestige, argumentative skill and persuasion in interaction, all of which cloud rationality.

A significant complication existed at Kensington, for Kensington was a new conception of education. What experience then is pertinent? What are the classical solutions to that which is not old enough to be classical? Kensington's principal had received a summer's training in team teaching in a nationally known center. He had found it an unsatisfactory experience essentially because they did not, in his view, practice what they preached. He had been a teacher and principal in situations where he had made minor forays toward his conceptions of flexibility and pupil freedom. The curriculum materials co-ordinator had a number of years of experience as a teacher, principal and college instructor in curriculum and instruction. Several of the inexperienced teachers had had internships in team teaching. Several of the teachers had utilized the non-textbook approach to individualized reading instruction. Consultants were available to a limited extent. While several days a month of consultant time is well beyond the availability to most elementary schools, it is minimal in terms of day-to-day impact. None of the staff had had the experience with the pervasive or overall change implied in the new conception.

The inexperience dimension had implications for organizational

structure, status, and influence, early in the summer workshop. Organizational planning, skill in discussion and mobilization of agreement may be considerably different from teaching. Early we hypothesized:

One other hypothesis I would offer concerns the problem that is going to face the people when they have the children there with them. It seems to me that the individuals who are going to make out best are those who know a tremendous amount and who can make this readily available without much prior preparation. This suggests that men like Jack may be a very fundamentally important person at that time, where at this point he is not. Whether David can stand this kind of instructional pressure or whether Kay or Liz can, I don't know. Part of the question I would raise is that they have not taught and don't have the wealth of illustrations, materials, procedures, etc. at their fingertips that would make this very much simpler. In this sense it's not a question of brightness, it's more a question of specific tactics and procedures.

These issues appear, diagrammatically in Figure 8.18.

Insert Figure 8.18 about here.

True belief and staff replacement

In the fourth week of August, the discussions surrounding Kirkham's replacement became entangled in whether he would be "oriented toward our goals." The inclusive-exclusiveness of the groups' perception of themselves proved most limiting in bringing in other personnel. The underutilization of Walt Larsen, the first of the long term substitutes, as we described earlier, seemed very significant. The implications ramify at great length as we note in Figure 8.19.

Insert Figure 8.19 about here.

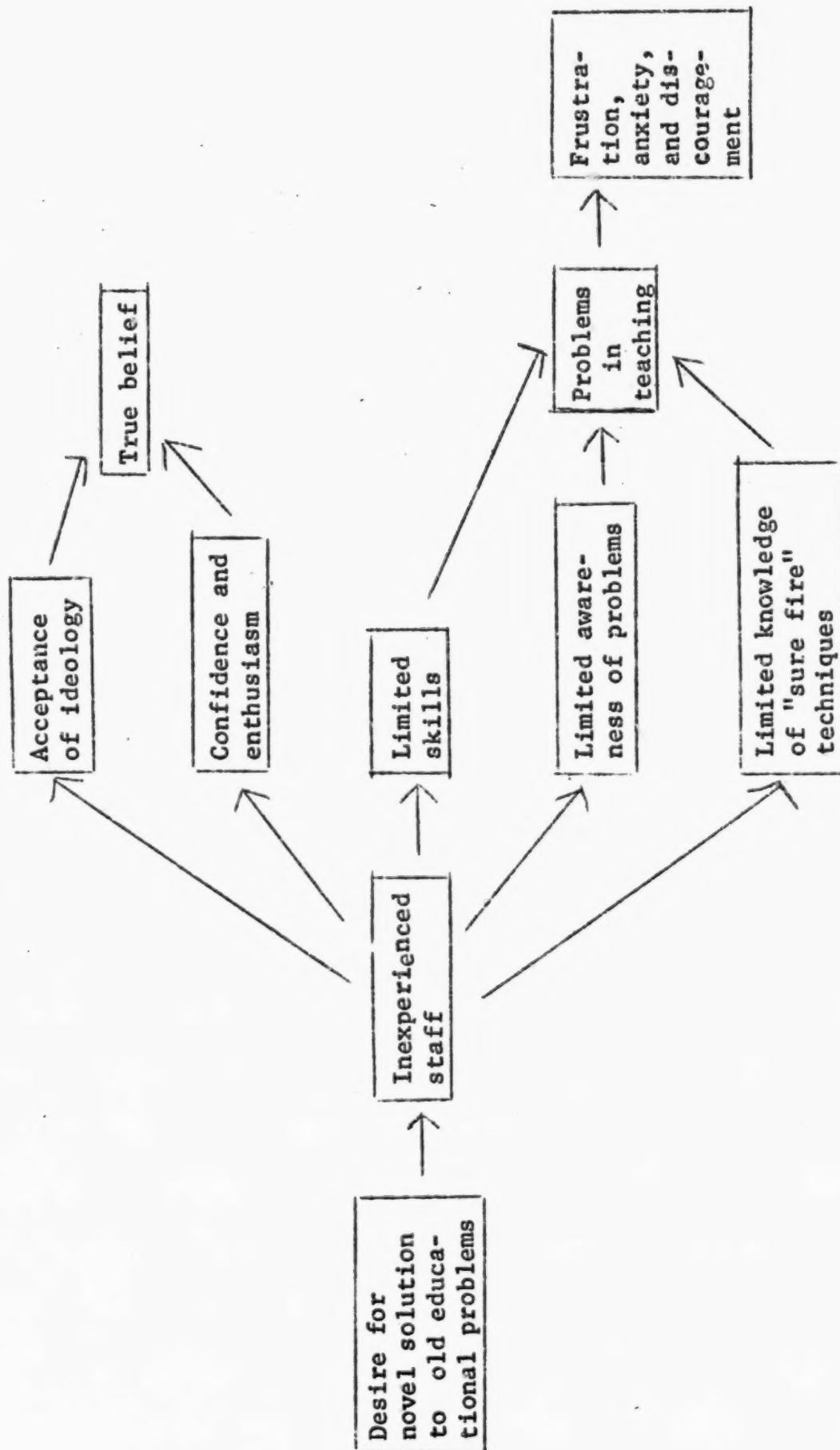


Figure 8.18. Role of inexperience at Kensington.

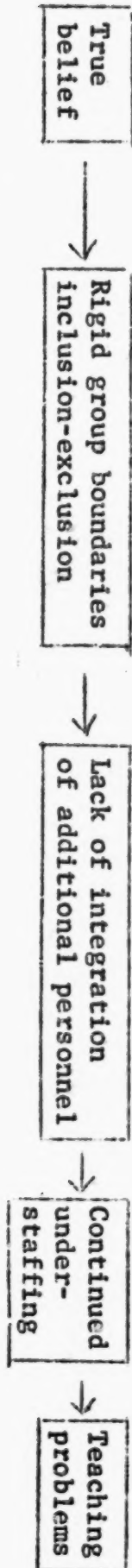


Figure 8.19. True belief and staff utilization.

In short

Now, we are willing to speculate strongly in two regards. First, the staff varies dramatically in the self-rejecting aspects and positive hope aspects. In this regard Hoffer seems wrong. True believers come for many reasons. Some seem to have a relatively simple faith in working toward educational ideals which they hold sincerely and uncomplicatedly. Others see, quite clearly and consciously, the possibilities to combine their faith and their careers. Others seem to be searching for identity and a positive self concept. Second, innovative organizations will have serious continuity problems because the staff will go on new quests. This departure is due in part to their high visibility and being "bought" or competed for. The grail is elusive; the quest is eternal.

True Belief Over Time

The dynamics of "true belief" as it interacts with the vicissitudes of experience over time is another important analysis permitted by our data. Internally, in the organization, we have reference to disillusionment and low morale which began to strike at the foundations of Kensington. External to the organization, we speculate on issues in the maintenance of true belief in the broader world of professional education.

Disillusionment and low morale

By October, much of the August and September enthusiasm was partially translated into disillusionment, either of a personal or a team nature. A number of internal and external facets of the organization were instru-

mental in altering the initial hope. Several in I.S.D. were very discouraged; two members of the Basic Skills were thinking of quitting at mid-term. In addition to this, the notes indicate that "almost everybody is giving serious thought to not coming back next year." (10/23) As the introductory epilogue notes, this is in fact what did happen.

There were many reasons for the early despair. Some of the faculty were more vocal and the basis of their grievances more easily observable. One was "very tired and discouraged. She's sick of the dust, dirt, the confusion and the lack of order. She's also tired of the noise." (10/23) The researcher then asked whether or not she had talked with the Principal. "No, not directly; it's his baby, and you can't tell a person that his baby is no good." She was also displeased with the departmentalized organization that Independent Study had developed and "would just as soon have her own self-contained classroom." Another, who at one time was described as "the only one maintaining the philosophy," was also experiencing progressive disillusionment and disenchantment. He noted three primary areas of dissatisfaction: 1) the shift from process; 2) the loss of the student T-groups and 3) the inability of the team to function and also be concerned about process. His vehemence against formal instruction and his refusal to "teach" in the usual sense of the word were known by the faculty; however, our earlier description clearly shows the strength of his feelings was put to the test by the reorganization of I.S.D.

Mr. Shelby was also troubled. His discontent centered primarily around four areas, none of which are mutually exclusive; 1) the "sterile program" being offered in some of the classes; 2) his personal anxiety; 3) the deficiencies of the faculty; 4) his relationship with a Consultant.

He saw the problems as crossing division lines but stopping short of encompassing any one entire division. At this time he described his feelings as those of "general apprehension and anxiousness." (10/14)

A week later he again noted that he wasn't "functioning very well" and was not getting as much done as he had hoped to do." One specific item expresses some of his general feelings. In commenting about the interpretation and feedback of materials from the recordings on the consultant's research project, Shelby indicated that they would probably have to be done by him. While he was trained and competent to do this, when he was feeling tense and nervous this got communicated also, and the situation did not go so well. His feelings about the inadequacies of the staff were also still much in evidence. He specifically mentioned the inability of one as an instructor or leader. Later he considered releasing her. What seems to be of importance is that seemingly few attempts were made to help the faltering team members. In fact, in the instance of one teacher, the reorganization of I.S.D. placed her at an even greater disadvantage.

The discontent with the consultant began early in their relationship and continued until the relationship was terminated during the second semester. Shelby noted that his rapport with him was "not good" and the conversations flitted around from topic to topic, rather than seriously moving in and attacking basic issues.

These are illustrations of the principal's early discouragement. He was cognizant of each and able to verbalize one by one the concerns. However, following the thread of these areas through the remaining months of school to the demise of some and the irresolution of others indicates that for all of his recognition, he was able to do little in the way of

solution that was satisfactory with the staff and congruent with the doctrine.

True belief in its broader context

During the pre-school teachers meeting, the Milford School District followed the standard ritual of having a program with an out of town speaker who trades glowing epithets with the superintendent. Spanman introduced the speaker as an educational statesman of "ideas and integrity." The speaker, in turn, lauded the superintendent and the bright spots of Milford. He talked of the significance of teaching, "a job to build a dream on." The observer, who had attended opening night and seen the play before, suggested an hypothesis, which though a bit cynical still extends the conceptualization of issues in innovation.

As I listen to him I get some feeling for the reasons fads develop in education. These characters need something new and different to talk about as they journey around. They reach so many people that a "new" idea can be spread rapidly. Superintendents and others looking for fame can grab hold and offer their school as a case in point.

(8/31)

As lecturers and speakers have strong needs of this sort the visible and newsworthy item is a potent reinforcer. The fame accruing to the innovator is not to be denied either. A symbiotic relationship such as this seems a potent underpinning of our discussion of the "facade." Unfortunately, in the perspective of the investigators, such a relationship may germinate, develop, and flower, independent of any assessment of the explicit goals of the innovation itself and the degree to which these goals are actually reached. Although explicable and understandable from the vantage point of a social psychological interpretation of behavioral

theory, it leaves a good bit to be desired from a value oriented theory of education.¹⁶ Some of the implications appear in Figure 8.20.

Insert Figure 8.20 about here.

We are suggesting here that a dynamic external to the main arena, the school itself, exists, and that part of the nature of "true belief over time" lies in these outside persons who are caught up in their own system of psychological forces and as a consequence help create, extend and perpetuate innovations such as Kensington.

Conclusion

Hoffer (1951) ties together several aspects of sentiment in an organization as he describes facets of the True Believer, the man of fanatical faith who is ready to sacrifice his life for a holy cause:

For men to plunge headlong into an undertaking of vast change, they must be intensely discontented yet not destitute, and they must have the feeling that by the possession of some potent doctrine, infallible leader or some new technique, they have access to a source of irresistible power. They must also have an extravagant conception of the prospects and potentialities of the future. Finally, they must be wholly ignorant of the difficulties involved in their vast undertaking. Experience is a handicap. (p. 20)¹⁷

16. A similar generalization, arising from other assumptions and data is reflected in Miles' (1964) statement, "A kind of axiom seems visible in almost any of the studies reported in this book: educational innovations are almost never installed on their merits." (p. 635)

17. We are indebted to Professor Edwin Bridges for suggesting initially the parallels in this particular passage from Hoffer.

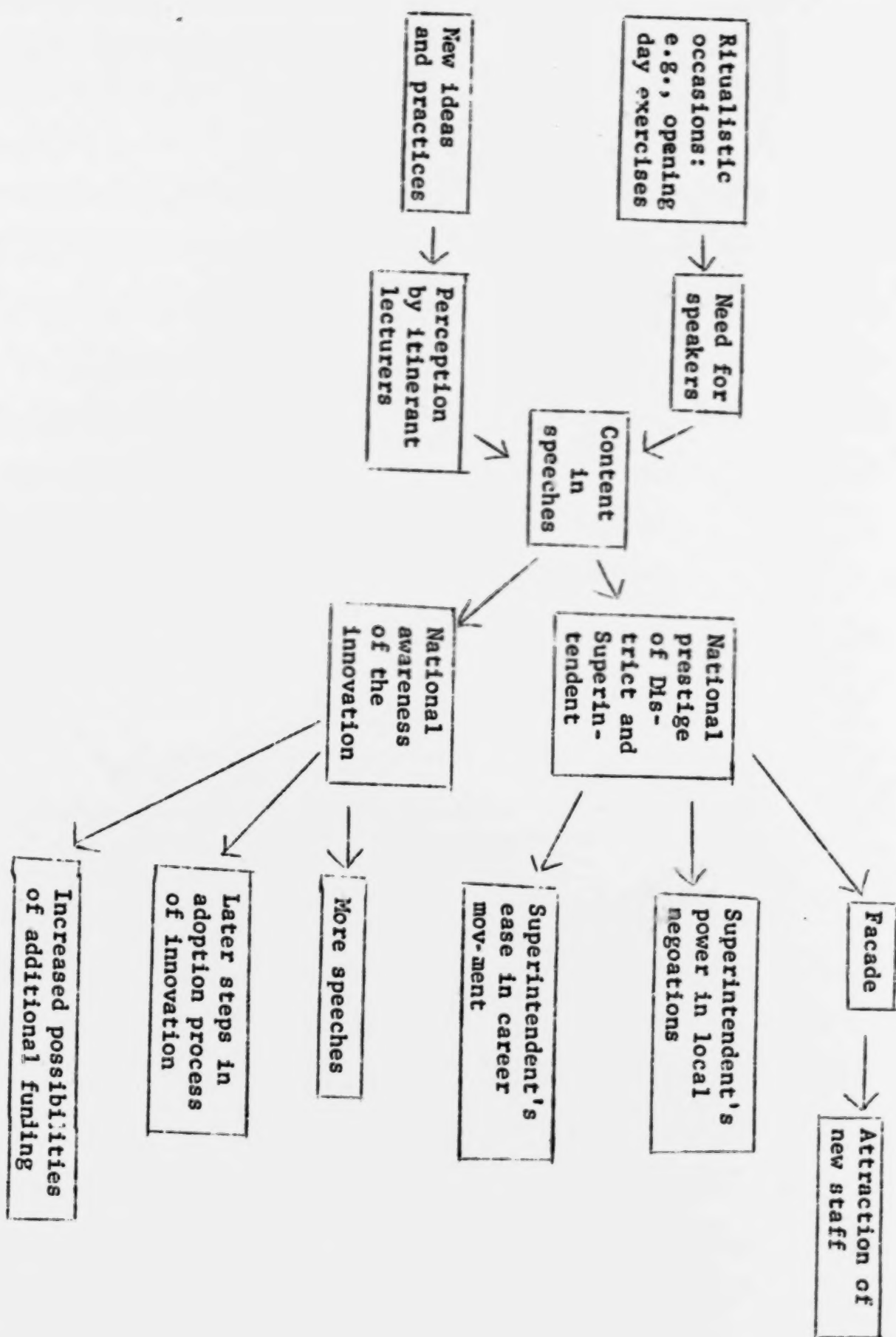


Figure 8.20. Dynamics of the context of innovation in education.

In the judgment of our case, his account under-emphasizes the positive attraction of healthy people trying to make a better world. While Kensington had those who were "intensely discontented" and "those who crave to be rid of an unwanted self," the majority were finding a freedom and an opportunity to create which is usually not available in the public schools--either from administrative fiat or from informal faculty "understandings." His analysis of potent doctrine, infallible leader, new techniques, extravagant conceptions of the future, ignorance of the difficulties, and the role of inexperience, have a telling validity. He who would engage in large scale innovative processes must be cognizant of the role of true belief endemic to the process.

CONTRASTING POSITIONS ON INNOVATION AND CHANGE

While we have had some things to say relevant to Hoffer's position regarding the role of true believers in innovation and change, it seems appropriate to conclude with a remark or two regarding several other analytical positions in social theory.

Lewin's position

Some years ago Kurt Lewin (1951) developed a provocative analysis of social change. The major thrust occurred through an analogy: Social change involved the unfreezing, moving, and refreezing of group standards. Social devices, and their theoretical counterparts worked in one or more of the phases. The "unfreezing" or dissolution of prior group standards, he suggests, is facilitated by 1) "an emotional stir up" such as catharsis,

2) isolation or the creation of "cultural islands," and 3) group decision. Moving, or changing the level, has been invoked by lecture and group decision. Lewin's (1951) data accent group decision, but these early studies did not separate the phases from the devices. Smith and Geoffrey (1965), in a case study of a middle class teacher coping with a group of lower class pupils, accent the clarity of presentation of standards by the teacher and the power possessed by the teacher in the pupil-teacher relationship. In addition they accent a distinction between group belief systems and group normative systems. The impact of group decision, according to Lewin has a major impact on refreezing group standards:

The decision links motivation to action and, at the same time seems to have a 'freezing' effect which is partly due to the individual's tendency to 'stick to his decision' and partly to the 'commitment to a group.' (Lewin, 1951, p. 233)

Beyond the group decision, Lewin argues that "refreezing" occurs also because of the institution of new social structures which facilitates and supports the new level. In his example, the housewife who has decided to increase milk consumption puts in a standing order with the milkman.

Miles' temporary systems

In our analysis of the T-group experience, we had reference to the special kind of situation which occurred at Kensington--a temporary system was formed within a just developing permanent system. We sketched the implications of such a temporary system in some detail. More generally though Miles' analysis of isolation in temporary systems builds heavily upon Lewin but also adds several important dimensions to the analysis. From his discussion (pp. 454-456) we have abstracted the significant elements regarding the "cultural island" or "protected subculture" dimension

of the Milford School District's change strategy.

Insert Figure 8.21 about here.

Etzioni's gradualism

After we had phrased the Kensington strategy of innovation as "the alternative of grandeur," we became acquainted with Etzioni's essay, "A gradualist strategy at work" in his book, Studies in Social Change (1966). Our reading of this case study essay of the European Economic Community, EEC, suggests the broader theoretical significance of the kind of analysis we have been attempting. He contrasts a revolutionary strategy, our alternative of grandeur, with a strategy of gradualism. His broad generalization, "aim high, score low: aim low, score high," supports the gradualist position. In his analysis, a strong negative correlation exists between the level of ambition and the degree of success. The mediating mechanisms underlying these results are several and they contrast with the dynamics observed at Kensington.

First, he suggests amplifying the close and underplaying the remote. The accent is on the immediate concrete problems rather than on longer range goals and implications. Kensington, the reader will recall, split over the "process-substance" issue during the first week. Also many staff members accented a futuristic orientation. Second, he argues for "phasing of adjustments," that is making all the changes, adjustment, and sacrifices into many small and almost insignificant steps. Essentially this reduces resistance to change. Our data suggest it is important because of resource

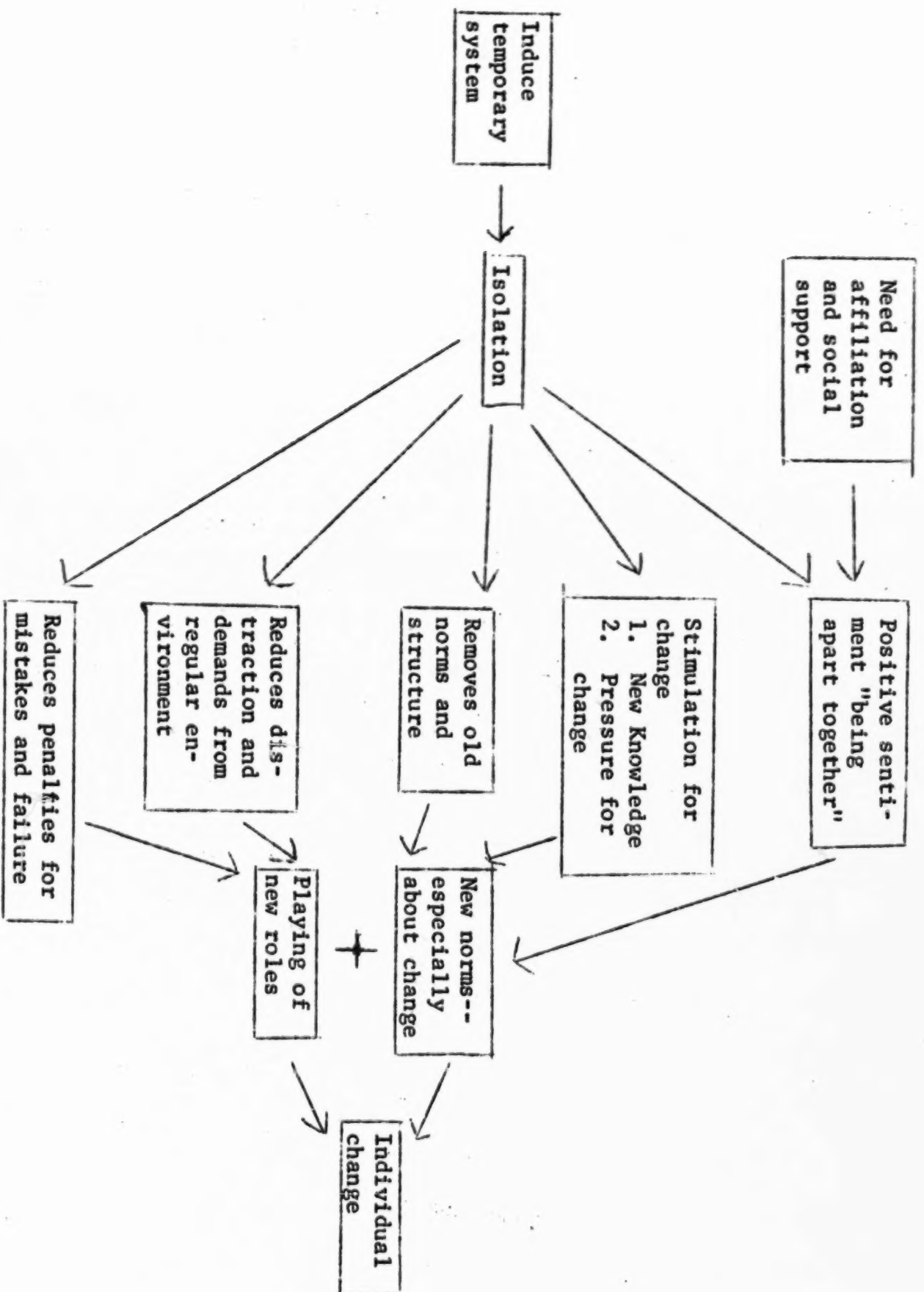


Figure 8.21. An interpretation of the theory underlying the "Protected subculture" after Miles (1964) and Lewin (1951).

and skill availability as well. Third, "phasing supranationality" means, in organizational terms that you allow the development and initial formation of sub-units "institutions, sentiments and vested interests." In our case the initial accent was on total school policy rather than initial team or divisional resolutions of issues. Fourth, he introduces the concept of "stretch-outs," giving the participants an opportunity to extend the period of adjustment beyond the initially agreed upon interval. Kensington's approach argued against this, although when the "retreats" began to occur the stretch-out conception was invoked, e.g., "It'll take a little longer." Fifth, the "multi-path dimension," is an acknowledgement of the cliché, many roads lead to Rome. He argues for allowing for great variety in institutional arrangements. Kensington's complexities here we have tried to unravel in our analyses of the Institutional Plan and the administrative process. Sixth, provisions for acceleration refers, as it implies, that if momentum builds up for more rapid change, the system can tolerate it. Kensington had little need for this since the alternative chosen presupposed immediate total change, i.e., maximum acceleration. Seventh, the "locking in system" refers to procedures that prevent regression from gains that have been attained. In Kensington, regression was quite common and few mechanisms existed to prevent retreat. In some instances the retreat was conceptualized in terms of survival while in others lack of surveillance, help, and resources seemed to be dominant factors. Eighth, "provision for institutional spill-over" refers to a vagueness about the extent of power possessed by members from their constituents in the original mandates. This enabled the members to seek and acquire more authority and power than initially assigned to them.

Once again Kensington's formal doctrine provided for almost total staff power, but the Institutional Plan circumscribed this sharply, and the principal's style created considerable difficulty in implementing staff spill-over. Ninth, the "cushioning" process involves escape clauses which allow individual members who have special problems and grievances a margin of protection. Kensington possessed few of these.

Such is Etzioni's argument for the gradualist strategy. In part it supports and contrasts with our analysis of Kensington as we presented our initial scheme in Figure 8.1. In a summary section on the limits of the gradualist strategy, Etzioni places a context around the point of view. Our Figure 8.22 sketches out his latent argument. The reader can see some of the characteristics of Milford, particularly the unstable political or community structure and the lack of time which suggest reasons for the election of the alternative of grandeur.

Insert Figure 8.22 about here.

Conclusion on change strategies

Unanticipated consequences exist for researchers as well as members of organizations; however, in the research context the consequences have such exciting labels as "serendipity." We had not conceived our thesis in terms of strategies of change nor had we looked to alternatives such as "grandeur" and "gradualism." However, the need for such an analysis kept arising in our observation. In December the issue of change strategies seemed applicable not only to broad aspects of American Education

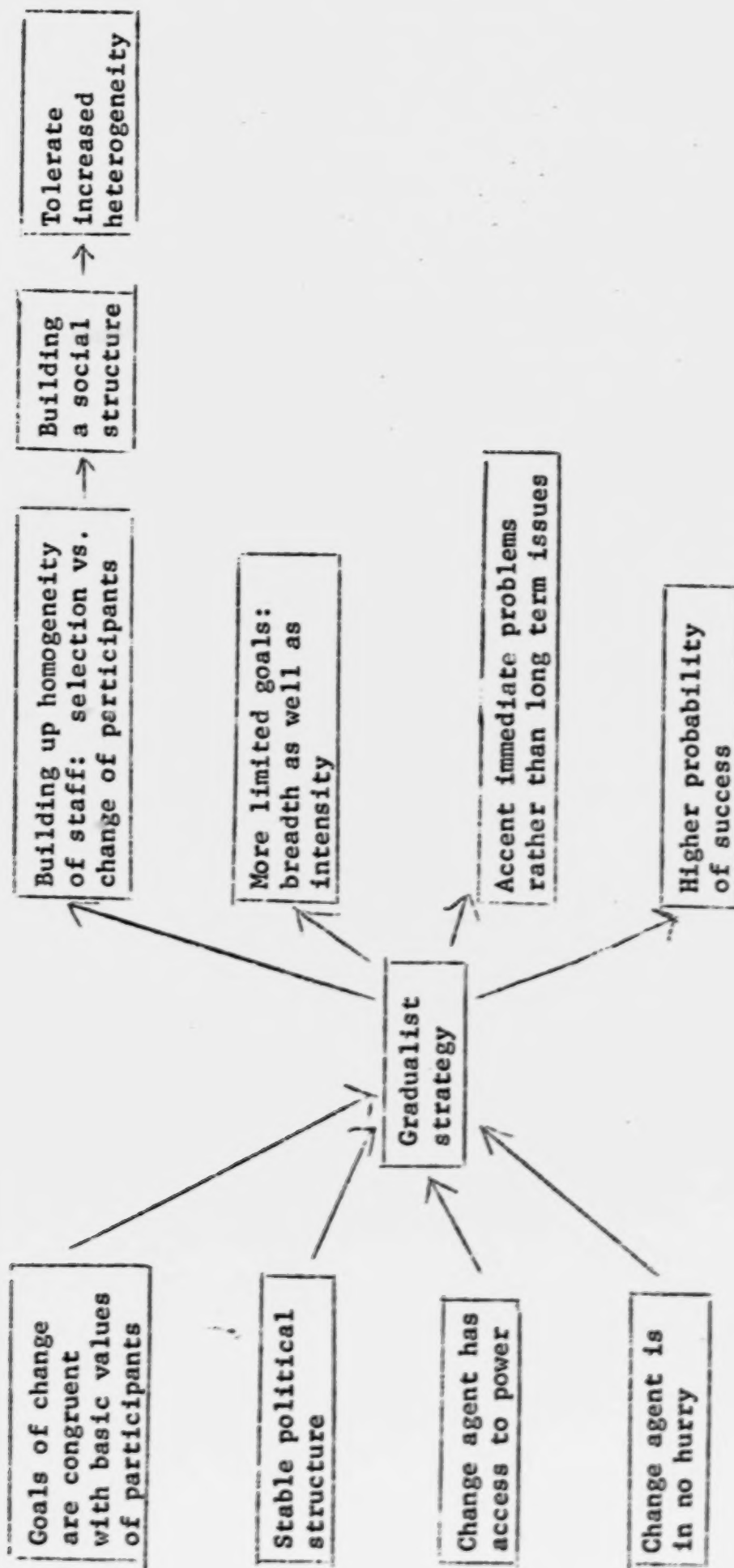


Figure 8.22. Determinants and limits of the gradualist strategy (after Etzioni, 1966, p. 678).

but also to changing in midstream the social structure of the Kensington school. The field notes recorded our fumbling toward this issue:

There is a major theoretical problem that exists though: when things have been going not the way you want them to go, when do you break in and how do you break in with a major renovation of the whole operation. The things that suggest themselves as we argued in the past are first, major shifts, such as the shift in residence from the temporary quarters to the permanent quarters. A second hypothesis would be when one has a long block of time in which to work productively as one will have shortly after Christmas. Third, the possibility exists when one has a chance to prepare for the long haul, such as one will the second week of the Christmas vacation. Another compromise solution might well have been to overhaul one particular subject area such as arithmetic or social studies before Christmas, solidify that and then build for the major thrust after Christmas. Fifth, there is the possibility also of issuing to the children a series of orders, assignments, which are simple and cannot be resisted. For instance, one can increase the frequency of exams, or one can increase the frequency of simple requirements in an area. These demands, the correlated behaviors of grading, checking, and sorting them out, etc. The exams, for instance, would demand that one begin to make some systematic assignments and this would begin to mean that one do some systematic teaching over particular areas. It's interesting that such a behavior as increasing the frequency of exams ripples throughout the system and puts a number of demands upon the instructor as well as upon the pupil. In a sense, everyone has to pay the price of certain consequences. If one is not willing to do this, then one, in turn, not only loses the initiative but loses serious ground in terms of idiosyncrasy credits related to leadership expectations from not only the pupils, but parents and administrative staff as well. (12/22)

In effect, a gradualist strategy within the alternative of grandeur seems possible. Significant attention in our view must be paid to the situation, the time and place, in which intervention attempts are carried out.

Chapter Nine

Some Concluding Observations and Reflections

As we pulled the final strands of the monograph together, we found we were left with two large realities. The first of these centered on how much of Kensington remains undescribed. The nuances of the description: continued development of the divisions and teams, the nature of the parent organization, the fascinating career of the curriculum committee, have only been touched upon here. Time, our U. S. Office of Education contract, and sympathy of the project monitors, ran out long ago. The report had to be finished. The second reality centered on problems, issues, and propositions demanding further consideration by educational scientists and policy makers. For instance, in "all but the dissertation: the heavy burden," we try to sketch the implications of one such problem. Analysis and theorizing is an unending task.

THE NARRATIVE OF THE REMAINDER OF THE YEAR

New Enthusiasm and Old Problems

In early January the notes read of rekindled spirits. The staff came back rested from vacations and from time away from each other, the children, and the school. Discussions were being initiated about Kensington as the summer school for the district. The photographer and reporter from the Daily Star were in the building preparing their Sunday supplement feature story on the school. Two sentences catch the flavor of the work.

Monday, when Jerl was over, and we were engaged in the long discussion on the curriculum, Tom commented that

he would have liked to have stayed but he couldn't, he had too much to do. This, again, reflects what seems to be the general tenor that everyone is busy and working very hard.

(1/6)

A paragraph precipitates another image.

Yesterday was a very exciting day in many respects. By chance I happened to see a Basic Skills play which was given for the rest of the team 4, not the division, and for Transition. Some of Elaine's pupils, first and second graders, put on the play "The Golden Goose." The music and the voice on the record and the pantomime of the children and the scenery on the stage and the hominess of the children's theatre made it a superlative event. The theatre held the kids (200) with no strain and enabled them to form a "cozy" group and catch some of the "live" intimacy that occurs in the theatre. For an elementary school this kind of activity seems like a rare event. The facilities are beautifully adapted for such creativity. The talents of Elaine and Wanda, who helped her, are hard to underestimate. This kind of teaching where one has the facilities, the confidence, and the interest and enjoyment oneself radiates kind of a flair which is a dimension that teaching, it seems to me, should have.

(1/9)

We had the impression that some of this was happening also in I.S.D. although other difficulties persisted, we commented on the same day:

Some of the same kind of excitement in teaching seems to be happening with Kay. She develops some of the same excitement which in itself, then radiates out to the pupils. Apropos of this, was her discussion of beginning a social studies unit on the stock market. This kind of thing is not seen in another of the I.S.D. teachers behavior who is much more "going through the paces" and looking for something to do with the children rather than having a number of exciting ideas to do. There seems to be a vicious circle in that as one gets a bit discouraged then the excitement in one's behavior drops off, and as the excitement in the behavior drops off the ability to contagion the kids drops off, and this makes you more discouraged and the spiral continues downward. Similarly, you can trace it upward.

(1/9)

However, reorganization was on its way. I.S.D.'s Saturday morning team meeting on January 9th went this way:

It is now 12:45 and I'm on my way back from the I.S.D. division meeting.

The upshot seems to be that Eugene wants to reorganize the division. The new plan essentially involves having a group of four or five academic counselors who, in effect, will become self-contained classroom teachers. There will be two resource persons, Jack and Alec, because of Jack's special talents in science, and Alec, because he teaches mathematics which is a subject matter area requiring some kind of sequence and special aspects. Also, there will be a creative art consultant. This will be Chris. And a P.E. resource person which will be John. And a materials resource person which is Tom. The drift of the arrangement would be that the academic counselors would have to work out cooperative relationships with the resource persons but the relationships among academic counselors, self-contained teachers, would not be mandatory and they could work out joint arrangements if they desired. Although there was some confusion in the way in which these counselor jobs were described, the essence seems to be that they will be totally responsible for the pupil's program. This kept getting hedged with statements that perhaps the resource person would do all the teaching. (1/9)

In Bulletin #33 the reorganization of I.S.D. was described for the total staff.

I.S.D. Reorganization. The Independent Study Division has decided to alter the organization of the Division beginning Monday, February 1. Basically, the new organization consists of 5 Academic Advisors who will be totally responsible for the education program of about 40 pupils each, with two staff members serving as division resource persons (science and math). Cooperative teaching between Academic Advisors is encouraged and provided for, but will be on an informal rather than official basis.

There will be a meeting of the I.S.D. Friday at 1:00 to consider: 1) assignment of pupils; 2) roles of Academic Advisors and Resource Persons; and 3) utilization of facilities. (Bulletin #33 1/19)

The brief sentence, "Cooperative teaching. . . will be on an informal rather than official basis," indicated the final demise of team efforts in the Division. In the same Bulletin, a prior item indicated a reorganization

of the Physical Education program.

3. Physical Education Schedule. On Monday, January 25, the new Physical Education schedule will go into effect as follows:

9:00-10:15	Transition Division	Daily
10:00-12:30	Independent Study Division	Daily
1:00- 3:15	Basic Skills Division	Daily

Please work out any adjustments within the time allotted to each Division with Mr. Taylor. (Bulletin #33 1/19)

The full impact of this was to appear over the next month or so. The field notes record the issues this way.

Pat reports that John is very upset about the physical facilities which have not worked out, as we have quoted on a number of occasions and places, and also upon the fact that he must work with not only the I.S.D. kids but also the kids in Basic Skills and Transition. In his eyes the latter keeps him tied up all day and prevents him from implementing any kind of individual program with the I.S.D. children. A thread here which might be very significant is to work through the problems of independent study and the time involved as it relates to someone like John, who is probably as skilled a general classroom teacher as exists in the building, and who has as well thought out a program as anyone in the building. The gist of the argument might go something like this: He has an individualized program in exercises and physical fitness that he's been working on since before Christmas. He also has some instructional activity around certain games that he's introduced to almost all of the children, and third, he has a number of continuing activities the kids can work on independently and only from time to time need supervision. In a sense he's optimizing the total nature of the program and yet he's terribly frustrated that he hasn't time to really do the kind of job that he wants done. (3/2)

Perhaps the most significant generalization is that an individualized program is an expensive one and requires a large number of personnel. The teacher-pupil ratio problem probably has not received the attention it deserves in the educational reform literature.¹

1. Note for instance Anderson's comments (1960, pp. 36-40).

Meanwhile, the Transition Division was also to experience the culmination of the two-one split, which had its origin in differences in philosophy and approach that team members had expressed as early as the first week of school. The disagreement resulted in one of the team members being out of the classroom area all of the morning hours. Three groups of thirty students each spent several hours a week working with one teacher in the theatre or in the art room. One of the team indicated that the fine arts program enabled them to get some of the children out of the Transition area so that two of the teachers could carry on the program they wanted. This adjustment not only served the double function of removing the dissident faculty member from the main room for half the school day, but it also reduced the number of children the other two would be teaching at any one time. In addition, it seemed to minimize team conflict.

However, even in the two team members who were more content-oriented, parts of the early workshop days were still having an impact. The summary notes indicate that:

With all of the students gone from the main area at least one hour a day, though at varying times in groups of thirty, I asked whether or not all the students would study the body systems which one group was doing. One of the team members pointed out that they would not be sure that all students are being exposed to the same thing because some of the pupils are at the same time working on a three-part program in electricity which is being shown on TV. The team member added, "We're really floundering; I'm not so much interested in content now as I am in getting some of the process across."

Even though ideas of the Transition team members at times seemed to move closer together, at the termination of the school year, their differences were still apparently unresolved.

January was a full month. As we have described elsewhere, the curric-

ulum committee started meeting again. Considerable publicity for the school was in progress. An open house was held January 19th. The consultant, Leslie Roberts, continued his monthly visits on January 21st and 22nd. Report cards were distributed and the first semester was over. New staff members, Linda in I.S.D. and Abbie in Kindergarten, joined the faculty.

Gradual Completion of the Physical Facilities

During late Winter and early Spring, more and more of the building became operational. We have noted that Chris became a general resource person in the creative arts. Facilities for her use as well as the total faculty received comment in an early February staff bulletin.

Use of Art Room. Although it will be some time before arrangements can be completed for making the basement art room as functional as we would like, considerable use may now be made of this facility. A schedule for reserving this room is posted on the bulletin board in the perception core. The creative arts resource person has priority in the use of the art room, but will not be using it nearly all the time.

Regulations have been established for using the art room, and you are requested to comply with them conscientiously. It is recognized that the present regulations leave much to be desired in terms of instructional needs, but it is necessary to work within the parameters of the situation as presently exist regarding the building code. We will then want to revise the regulations for using the art room when the building code matter is settled and we are able to obtain additional cabinetry, furniture, and sinks for the room.

The creative arts resource person will schedule some time each day to instruct designated pupils in the art room; other times will be blocked out during which she will be available to supervise and assist individuals or small groups of pupils who may be sent to the art room for particular purposes. When not being used in either of these ways, the room may be scheduled by other teachers who wish to bring pupils for art activities; pupils must be accompanied

by a teacher, however. You are encouraged to use the basement art room rather than classrooms for art activities (particularly messy ones) as much as possible. Pupils must not be permitted to get paints and crayons on the carpeting in classrooms since extreme difficulty is being experienced in removing such stains.

We are not allowed to place any furniture in the art room at the present time, but carpet scraps are stored in the blue storage room, and may be used for pupils to sit on for art activities. These carpets should be returned to the storage room after use. Neither the art room nor the art supply room should be used by the staff for storing things. As soon as possible, we hope to provide cabinets in the art room for storing uncompleted art projects, etc., but for the time being, please do not leave things, except possibly on the small shelves in the blue storage room. The art room should always be left clean and in good order.

Pupils going to the art room are encouraged to use the outside entrance from the play shelter as much as possible, particularly when passing in large groups. When using the inside route to the art room, it is essential that quietness and order be maintained when passing through the perception core and down the stairs. (Bulletin #39 2/8)

The comments about carpet stains, storage facilities, problems in pupil movement, and budget limitations for furniture and equipment receive comment elsewhere in the report.

The new building provoked problems also in regularizing a variety of custodial and maintenance problems. For instance, in the February 9th Bulletin, a note was made of the hiring of a new part time custodian.

He will be working in the evenings and Saturday mornings. Although we now have a total of two and one-half custodial personnel, it takes the assistance of everyone in the school to keep the building clean and attractive. Not only for this reason, but also because it is an important educational goal, please encourage pupils to do their part in providing a clean and wholesome school environment. Generally it is wise and helpful to spend the last few minutes of each school day getting the building in order. Since it is difficult to know just when custodians will be vacuuming each room, please have pupils put their chairs on their desks before leaving school each day. If you are certain

that your room is not to be vacuumed on a particular day, then this will not be necessary.

Another way that you can be of considerable assistance is by keeping furniture and accessories distributed properly. Someone moved a table into the theatre last week, for example, and left it there for several days. We would like to ask also that classroom waste baskets be placed directly under the pencil sharpeners in each room. We seem to be having some difficulty in keeping the color coordinated waste baskets which were purchased especially for the Kensington School in their designated areas. These waste baskets are not to be used in restrooms, and should not be used for milk cartons or food refuse. At times they have been found with paste, glue, paint and gum.

(Bulletin #40 2/9)

The Curriculum Committee

During January, the curriculum committee was reactivated. The dream of what Kensington might be was rekindled. To the casual observer, the intertwining threads were not obvious. To the participating members of the staff the enthusiasm was high, the excitement had a sharp edge, and the discussions were savored as good wine. This reality of Kensington had potency in the lives of the principal and the faculty.

The larger picture was this. After Christmas, now that the school was in the new building, several kinds of outside forces arose. The first of these was publicity--both local and national. A local newspaper, the Daily Star, sent a photographer to Kensington in early January and the Sunday supplement, six pages including a full page cover, photograph appeared in late January. An editor from National Weekly spent a week during January at Kensington. He observed, talked with everyone, and attended meetings. His article appeared in early summer under the title, "A school where children teach themselves." Later in the Spring a university group,

filming innovative schools, spent a few days in the school. Conceptually separate from the publicity, but intermingling in day to day reality were a number of consultants. Dr. Leslie Roberts was at Kensington during January when the editor from National Weekly was present. Two professors of educational administration consulted for several days during February. The number of observers from universities and public schools was so great that special times for visiting were allocated, and a special orientation talk, usually given by the principal, was developed to acquaint the visitors with Kensington's overall perspective. The largest of the outside influences, however, was the Milford School District's bid for private and federal funds to support a major curriculum reorganization project. This was in the developmental stages from early January until late Spring. Consultants from all over the United States were in the district and at the school. Kensington was a major plank in the project. Within the school itself, the principal and the rejuvenated curriculum committee of the staff became the local arm of the program.

In short, these forces--news media, prominent national consultants, the major thrust of the Milford District--focused on the very exciting and challenging problem of an ideal education for the elementary school child. Kensington was stimulated to a very high degree.

The magnitude of the task taken on by the committee is suggested by the memorandum of January 19th which was circulated to the faculty members. We include it here as Figure 9.1.

Insert Figure 9.1 about here.

KENSINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

January 19

Memo: To: Kensington Staff Members From: Curriculum Committee

At the Jan. 11 meeting of the Curriculum Committee, members considered the nature of its task, various steps in the development of a curriculum, and possible methods of initiating (action). Below in outline form is a resumé of ideas presented.

I Reasons for the Development of an Institutional Curriculum:

- A. To provide a guide for teaching in replacement of internalized curriculum.
- B. To act as public information resource in explaining institutional program.
- C. To serve as a guide for determining pupil skills and progress.
- D. To serve as a guide in the purchasing of materials.
- E. To provide a guide for pupil evaluation.
- F. To provide a rationale for making instructional decisions.

II Organization for the Development of a Curriculum

- A. Introduction (clarification of criteria)
 - 1. Function of Kensington
 - a. Process of knowing
 - b. Conceptual approach to content
 - c. Development of the individual as a fully functioning human being
 - 2. Function of a Curriculum
- B. Guidelines for making instructional decisions and for using the curriculum.
- C. Development of specific educational objectives in taxonomical form
 - 1. Skill objectives
 - 2. Trait objectives
 - 3. Content objectives
 - 4. Process objectives
- D. Procurement of various diagnostic instruments
- E. Development, selection, etc. of materials

III Long-range objectives of Curriculum Committee

- A. Development of a Curriculum
- B. Development of a handbook for the faculty
- C. Development of a handbook for the pupils

The next meeting of the Curriculum Committee is scheduled for Wednesday, January 20, at 7:00 p.m. The task of the committee at this time will be to discuss ideas related to the introduction and guidelines, and to further develop the categories and sub-categories of the taxonomy.

The following evening, then, the group will meet at 7:00 p.m. with Dr. Leslie Roberts. Interested persons are invited to attend either or both of the meetings.

In retrospect, the failure in the Milford District's attempt for outside financial support of the curriculum project seems most critical for Kensington as well as the district at large.

FURTHER ISSUES REQUIRING CONCEPTUALIZATION

Field data have an irrepressible quality. They stimulate one in so many divergent directions that the feeling arises that the analysis is interterminal. In a sense this is probably true. We present issues here that were cued by Kensington and that educational theorists with social science orientations might find profitable for further work.

Educational Careers

For a number of reasons, Kensington attracted a staff who were at varied positions in their careers. Similarly, a number of events at Kensington, e.g., faculty turnover, had dramatic consequences on the teaching careers of the staff. This problem seems most worthy of further analysis.

All but the dissertation: the heavy burden

One aspect of Kensington which arose in the field notes the first day, which appeared significantly throughout the year and which remained during the "post experimental year", was the fact that three members of the faculty had all of their doctoral course work finished and only needed a dissertation to complete their work. All three hoped to develop their papers out of the Kensington experience. None of the three has finished

a degree in Kensington. While such an observation is true, the significance and interpretation is not so easily determined. Our initial thought of "the heavy burden" conveys one position of our reaction. More generally, the observation strikes us as typifying a major professional education problem which has not received the kind of attention it merits. Figure 9.2 contains hypotheses surrounding this phenomenon.

Insert Figure 9.2 about here.

Inducting new teachers

The induction of new members into the profession presents a further key aspect of teaching careers.

One other item concerning the conversation with one of the new teachers last night. The one real bright spot in her life these days is the thought of skiing with a boyfriend of hers. Most of her life is consumed with "psychological fatigue." She commented about having gone to bed at 7:00 o'clock two nights this past week. She also has to get up at 6:30 each morning, which is a tremendous chore for her. At 3:30 she doesn't want to think about anything. In effect, she makes a very good illustration of the survival criterion in teaching and the difficult problems one has in making it the first year or so. In the early year or two of one's career, just being able to stay in there and being able to come away reasonably happy might be a most important criteria of teacher effectiveness. Only later are the nuances of teaching open for analysis. It seems to me this should have major significance for a teacher-training program and the kinds of things that are done with the undergraduates and in the student teaching. All this is to say that the beginning teacher is probably an understudied phenomenon and that there are half a dozen or more cases in Kensington that are as good as any that exist. That's another problem that needs a close look.

Such was an early episode in first year teaching.

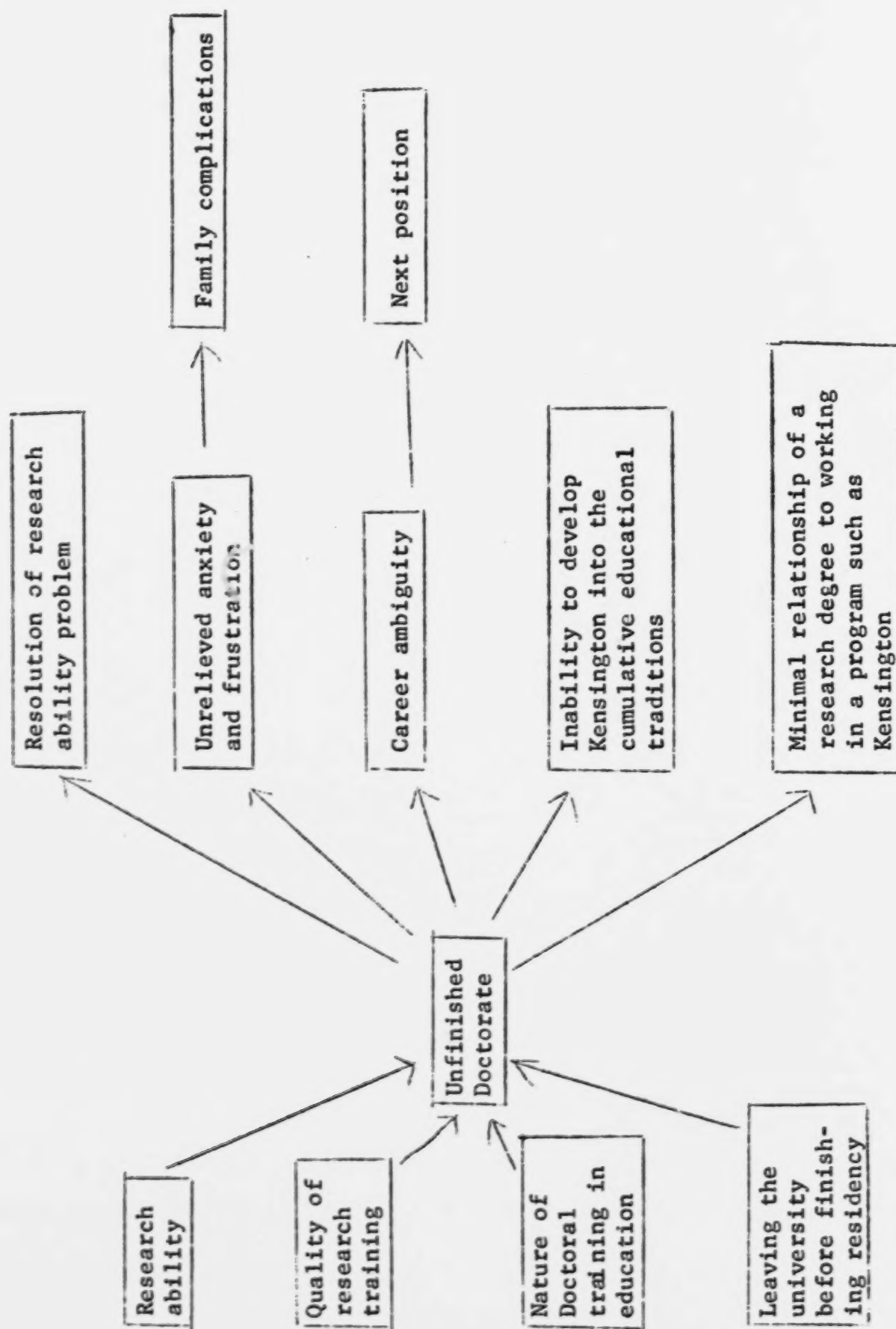


Figure 9.2. Problems associated with "all but the dissertation."

Making teaching livable

In the Springfield notes we speculated on another dimension of educational careers.

Another aspect that crept in from time to time concerns people like Jean and Meg who are what I would call career teachers, and the ways in which they try to make the job more satisfying to themselves. For instance while they work hard and put in long after-school hours they would prefer, it seems to me, to have this kind of thing occurring only in peak or stressful points rather than being continuous. They also seem to me to be on the lookout for various ways in which they can get support that will make the course of their day go more smoothly. For instance, they were talking about having aides who would supervise the kids outside and who would supervise the kids at lunchtime. The intent here is to gain some time free of the kids which can be used for a combination of paper grading and easy socializing among themselves. This seems, it seems to me, to exist throughout the early Basic Skills days in our temporary quarters at Milford High School. Over there they had things down to a "T," or at least a coffee break. This fits with my own growing concern for criteria around teaching other than pupil learning but related to satisfactions in the profession. In terms of general learning theory these might well be considered reinforcers that are important in maintaining teacher behavior apart from its acquisition and general development. Most certainly it will be related to staying in the profession, I would guess.

In time, research and theory will present analyses of such issues.

Plans for next year

The brief notice in the Bulletin in the middle of February barely taps the impact of the faculty discussion, gossip, and concern about plans for next year.

Personnel Decisions for Next Year. The personnel office is now in the process of preparing budget information and recruiting personnel for the next school year. In order to work on contracts and recruiting they need as much up-to-date information from present staff members as possible. They have requested that any teacher who definitely does not plan

to return to the district next year submit a written letter of resignation at the earliest possible date. Persons who have made no definite decision, but think they may not return to the district, are requested to give this information to the principal informally. The personnel office has also provided an opportunity for teachers who would like to transfer to other schools in the district to make such requests. Forms for this purpose have been sent to each school and are available from the secretary. Any such requests should be submitted as soon as possible. One other request from the personnel office is that the principal verify next years contract salaries with each teacher. If we have not already conferred with you relative to this matter, would you please check with the principal sometime this week. (Bulletin #42 2/15)

We summarized the issue in the early March field notes.

Pat commented at some length upon the general discussions of who is going to be back next year which seem to be rampant in the building. Most everywhere in education, this time of the year is contract time. Since there is such a large group of new teachers at the Kensington School this becomes very critical indeed. Pat found out that the letters of intent do not apply to the first-year teachers. They must wait out their time as it were.
(3/2)

The rumors, the job offers, the graduate fellowships under consideration, and the uncertainty were major events throughout the Spring for the Kensington staff.

Rules in Educational Organizations

In a school devoted to pupil freedom, the issue of rules provokes a number of dilemmas. We have described some of the problems which occurred in the temporary quarters, especially in the gymnasium with I.S.D. After the move to the new building in early December, formalization of rules occurred to a high degree. We enclosed those as Figures in chapter four. Staff reactions were varied. However, some saw the rules as being incongruent with attitudes that had been expressed earlier and voiced their

feelings accordingly. Others viewed the rules as having been produced by Eugene.

The staff bulletins provide easy access to the issue in the post Christmas part of the school year. In many instances, the good humor of the staff shines through:

School Mascot. From the looks of things, it appears that the dog is fast becoming our school mascot. We have not checked with Lyndon yet to see what can be done about the overpopulation of dogs on our campus, but the school board and superintendent are working on the problem. In the meantime, please ask pupils not to feed dogs scraps from their lunches. If pupils own any of our friendly dogs or know their owners, please request that they try to prevent them from coming to school. (Bulletin #34 1/21)

The building with its outside walkway, with every classroom opening onto the walkway, and the need to carry food from the serving area back to the desks seemed to heighten the attendance of the unfettered neighborhood dogs.

The next Bulletin took up a different issue.

Special Notice. Please notify our affluent pupils that they are not supposed to throw money in the aquarium. Also, please ask that they not soak their feet in the water. (Bulletin #35 1/25)

In early February issues surrounding conferences and pupil movement were recorded in the Bulletin.

Pupil Conferences with Principal. From time to time pupils come to the office requesting a conference with the principal. Although provisions should always be made for such conferences, it is important that proper procedures be followed. Pupils should not come to the office without first checking with their teacher or academic advisor. In cases involving such matters as requests for reassignment to another teacher, etc., the teacher should probably have a conference with the principal rather than sending the child to the office. In some cases a pupil-teacher-principal conference might be worthwhile. In summary, pupils should follow appropriate

procedures for conferring with the principal, but should not be denied the opportunity to do so. (Bulletin #37 2/2)

Pupil Movement. From time to time pupils move from one area of the building to another in fairly sizeable groups. For the most part traffic patterns and movement of pupils is working extremely well. There are a few times however, when pupils need to be especially careful about passing quietly through various areas of the building. One problem area is in using the inside stairway leading to the arts and crafts room. Occasionally pupils are quite noisy also when going to the theatre. Please try to impress upon pupils that common courtesy calls for quiet and orderly movement when passing through quiet areas of the building. (Bulletin #38 2/3)

The problems continued to increase and the organization reacted in an important structural manner. A new unit, the School Policy Committee, was established. While no formal mention was made of its relationship to earlier committees, the issues with which it was to deal, development of policies and procedure, communication of procedures, and evaluation of regulations were explicit, and they were reminiscent of earlier efforts. All of Bulletin #41 was devoted to the new committee. We have included the entire Bulletin as Figure 9.3.

Insert Figure 9.3 about here.

The introductory paragraphs indicate the struggle in developing congruence between the doctrine and the problems of the moment. Such issues we see as major ones needing attack within organizations.²

2. The classic work of Gouldner (1954) is the point of departure we intended to take. Recent articles (Anderson, T., 1966 and Halls, J., 1966) Educational Administration Quarterly, were called to our attention too late for this discussion but they suggest further leads.

1. Institutional Decision Making. One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Kensington curriculum under development is an attempt to establish educational criteria and objectives at the institutional level, but avoid the "programming," prescribing, or dictating of instructional decisions. This allows freedom for teachers and pupils to interact in making decisions at the instructional level (which is quite contrary to the way most curriculum programs are designed). We believe that this is the only approach consistent with the design of our program for individualized instruction.

This approach spells out quite clearly that the responsibility for educational decision-making does not lie at the institutional level. At the same time, however, there appears to be some confusion as to the responsibility for making decisions in other areas, notably the area of organizational maintenance. There is ample evidence that broad freedom in this area of decision-making is not only unnecessary but actually detrimental to the success of the school. In order for the five-hundred plus pupils and employees of Kensington to work together effectively and efficiently it is essential to be able to predict the behavior of others (just in the same way that public highways are useful only because driving behavior is predictable). This means, of course, that behavior has to be controlled and that individual freedom must be limited in order to provide greater freedom for everyone.

There is no question as to the need for policies and regulations designed to program decisions and behavior relative to the maintenance and functioning of the institution. Efficiency demands it. There are questions, however, as to how such decisions should be made and implemented. Careful consideration needs to be given to how and by whom policies are developed, how they are communicated, how they are enforced, and how they are evaluated and altered.

Responsibility for dealing with such matters lies with the principal as administrative officer of the school. To assist in carrying out these tasks a School Policy Committee has been established. Members of the committee are: Meg Adrian, chairman; Irma Hall; Kay Abbot; John Taylor; Chris Hun; Mary Radford (when available); and Tom Mack, ex-officio when dealing with matters relative to his field.

The purposes of the School Policy Committee are to:

1. Make recommendations concerning areas where administrative policies and regulations are needed.
2. Assist in the development of administrative policies and regulations through making recommendations and serving as a sounding board.
3. Assist in communicating and interpreting administrative policies and regulations to the total staff.
4. Assist in evaluating administrative policies and regulations.

(Bulletin #41 2/10)

Figure 9.3 Verbatim reproduction of Bulletin #41.

Humor in Organizations

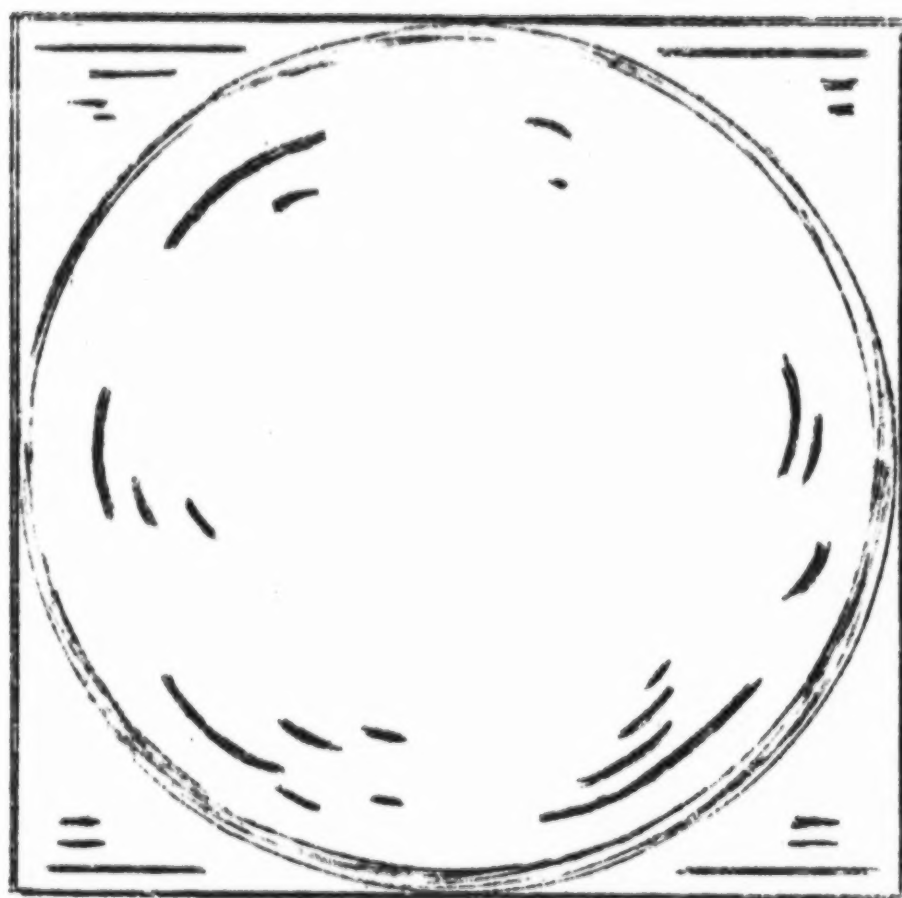
From the first days in the August workshop through the dinner party reminiscing in June, a thread of humor ran through Kensington. At times the humor was full of a youthful and uninhibited joy; at other times it contained the bite of bitterness and disappointment. This part of the story might have entitled the academic career of "Fully functioning Freddy," the staff's good humored early label for the intended product of Kensington's educational milieu. The most vivid illustration of humor occurred in a faculty party in early April. One of the by products of this was a Kensington Coloring Book, a commentary on the year prepared by several of the creative staff. The analysis of the forms and functions of humor within organizations seems a most necessary task. We have reproduced several pages from the coloring book which captures the flavor of the humor. These constitute Figures 9.4 and 9.5.

Insert Figures 9.4 and 9.5 about here.

In between the first and last pages were references such as "This is Basic Skills. Color them primerless.", and "These are husbands and wives. Color them neglected." The content of the musical parodies speaks for itself.

THE END OF THE STORY

Field work methodology has few clear rules as to when to end a project. Informally we have argued with our colleagues that the time to



THE ○ IS KENSINGTON SCHOOL
THE □ IS THE FACULTY
COLOR THEM INCONGRUENTLY

Figure 9.4 Page 1 of the Coloring Book.

WE'VE GROWN ACCUSTOMED????

We've grown accustomed to your ways
You make our work-day never end,
We're used to meetings night and noon
And visitors through June,
Reporters,
Photographers,
And silent observers. . .

We've grown accustomed to your shape,
We're going in circles more and more,
By covered walkways we must go
Through wind and rain and snow,
To work,
To play,
To eat each day. . .

We've grown accustomed to no curriculum,
But only skill and trait objectives,
With worksheets we must try
To fill the gap made by
No texts,
Or guides,
But World Books well supplied. . .

They're second nature to us now,
Like breathing out and breathing in,
We were supremely independent and content before we came,
Surely we could always be that way, but just the same,
We've grown accustomed to the teams,
The groups that yell and scream. . .
Accustomed to the scheme.

THIS SCHOOL IS YOUR SCHOOL

This school is your school
This school is my school,
From the tableless art room,
To the flagless flagpole,
From the fishless fishpond,
To the grassless playground,
This school is made for fools like me.

As I was teaching
In the clockless classroom,
I saw below me
The food stained carpet,
And in the corners
Lay coats and garbage,
This room belongs to you and me.

Now this reminds us
Of that great workshop
Which prepared us for. . . Ho-Ho-Ho-Ho!
The year is ending,
And we are wondering
If this fool was made for Kensington!

Figure 9.5. Final page of the coloring book.

quit arrives when one runs out of insights, new ideas, and theoretical hunches. In early March, the field notes record summary observations on an informal coffee klatch conversation.

After spending part of the morning chatting with several of the teachers and observing very briefly some of the projects and materials that are in the Perception Core and watching the beginning of the testing in I.S.D., the major reaction that I have is that I'm ready to begin writing about the school. I keep feeling that the same story is coming up again and again as I observe. For instance, as we talked over coffee we got to discussing the music program and the lack thereof. He commented about how he likes to hear in an elementary school the kids singing from time to time and then, as he put it, "maybe the teachers will learn one day that to take a break and engage the entire group (and he used as an illustration the 90 kids in Transition) in singing would be quite beneficial for the whole program." This immediately raised in my own mind issues about the nature of inexperience and the importance of that phenomenon in the school. This is an old idea and one that I've elaborated on from time to time in the notes, and about which I don't have any more insights. This, inter-related with the team teaching notions of having highly developed skills and specializations among some of the people. This too is an old idea and needs to be developed, yet I don't have more insights on it than I had a month or two ago. We talked briefly about the social studies program. His comments centered around his interest and concern about "democracy." He couldn't detect any kind of experiences that were helping the kids learn respect for individuals and respect for property, etc. This discussion came out of the issues of the minor disciplinary problems that they were having. He saw the upper grade kids, behaving in ways that they long since should have gotten over. Here, too, the critical notions of the conflict between independent study and the interdependence is an old part of the story and an issue that they haven't resolved and an issue that they don't see clearly conceptually and which we should be prepared to write about. I was struck in the Perception Core by the activity aspects of the program around science projects, with molds, with ants, etc., and the art projects that decorate the walls and the contests that some of the children want to have. This too is an old story and one that is ready to be written. We have some clarity also in the kinds of objectives that they set themselves. That is away from a specified content, in say, science, and

social studies and we can talk to the issue of the differences in points of view about goals and within that context put the kinds of means and kinds of experiences that they have been engaging in, e.g., Kay's stock market kinds of things, and make sense out of it. In short, what I seem to be saying is that the school's at an equilibrium and that we have a tremendous amount of information about the genesis of that equilibrium. In the vernacular "it's time to have at it," the analysis and writing. (3/2)

At 3:30 Friday afternoon, the 4th of June, the observation was finally over. The field notes captured that too.

I can't help but comment as I drive in, off West Milford Blvd., that everything looks so green and warm and pleasant, and that summer is here. There's almost a pastoral quality to the community. The frantic, innovative year is gone. Life seems to be going on. (6/4)

Appendix
Methodological Notes
Introduction

It behooves the researcher to speak in some detail to the issues surrounding his approach to a problem. Especially does this seem true when he abandons classical methods of his field, as we have done greatly from educational psychology and partially from the more quantitative orientation of contemporary sociology. If we were bona fide social anthropologists, our concerns here would be more minimal, but we are not. In an earlier investigation utilizing participant observation (Smith & Geoffrey, 1965) we included a long account of our first description and reflections upon the method. We try to build upon this earlier analysis in the present essay. Essentially, we present here some of the more "orthodox" sociological and anthropological literature which did not get into the earlier discussion.

In the view of one text (Selltitz, et. al, 1961) a research design is considered as "the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure." (p. 50). Thus, the design which is selected depends on the specific research purpose. This study was a formulative or model building investigation. The principal method of data collection was nonparticipant observation. This was supplemented by informal interviews and extensive analysis of records, documents, and accounts of meetings. Access to all documents had been provided; this included faculty bulletins,

parent-school council bulletins, committee reports, and district-wide curriculum materials. Observations were made of classroom interaction and use of facilities, total faculty meetings, team meetings, curriculum committee meetings, and parent-school council meetings. The observations continued for the entire first school year.

Relevant Methodological Literature

Observational Foci

The focal concern of this section is to examine the assets and limitations of the participant observation technique and to point to some of its specific characteristics. Participant observation will be treated here as a technique in the sense defined by Bennett. (1948). In a detailed discussion of characteristics of field work, he makes a careful distinction between technique and methodology. Technique refers to specific devices that are used by scientists for the collection of information during study.

Participant observation has received its main impetus from anthropological field studies; however, the paucity of literature elaborating on the technique has been noted by persons not in the field of anthropology. Iannaccone (1962) describes the "data fixation" that is characteristic of anthropology to the neglect of description and discussion of technique. That this omission is not limited to participant observation alone but is relevant to most field work skills is recognized by Merton (1947). He speaks of the silence which "cloaks" many of the concrete problems that are found in field work situations. Both he and Iannaccone note that these

skills are transmitted to followers and students via word of mouth and apprenticeships. Marton suggests that maybe the researchers feel the technique is common sense and see no need to codify the details. Even though, until recently, few people have discussed participant observation as a technique in itself to be formally treated, learned, and utilized by researchers, one is able to assess its primary advantages and disadvantages from brief methodological notes contained in some of the major field studies. Whyte points out the importance of these:

Only as we accumulate a series of accounts of how research was actually done will we be able to go beyond the logical-intellectual picture and learn to describe the actual research process. (1943 p. 280)

Observation may be categorized as either structured or unstructured; however, the lines between the two classifications tend to blur. Much of what will be said in the following pages is applicable to both forms, yet certain clear differences do exist. An observer may participate actively in a group or he may claim membership but confine his participation to a small amount; he may be an observer without being part of the group or he may observe without those whom he observes being aware of his presence. At this point what Henry designates as "naturalistic observation" should be contrasted with participant observation; both of these may be distinguished from a somewhat more structured observation.

The naturalistic study of behavior is the scientific study of human beings in their natural surroundings instead of in laboratories, direct observation of human behavior instead of merely asking questions about it. (Henry, undated).

In this technique, the scientist as an observer of human life fades into the background, particularly if he has been observing for a long time.

Then life goes on as if he weren't there. Henry cites two general headings under which observation may be viewed: watching and listening. The naturalistic observer is a detached scientist and a "determined" observer. He is not a participant observer in any real sense. It is true that to the extent he shares with those whom he is observing he is "somewhat of a participant", but he should avoid participating in ways that will distort the basic situation.

Kluckhohn (1940) has defined participant observation as "the conscious and systematic sharing, in so far as circumstances permit, in the life activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons." Although Henry and Kluckhohn have elaborated two somewhat different techniques, both have described skills that would be characterized as, in part, unstructured observation. Henry points out that naturalistic observation of behavior is more naive than that of a more experimental nature. The naturalistic observer tries to record all he sees rather than selecting certain variables. Selltiz, et. al., (1961) have concisely differentiated between structured and unstructured observation:

The major difference is that in these more systematic studies the investigator knows what aspects of the group activity are relevant for his research purposes and is therefore in a position to develop a specific plan for the making and recording of observations before he begins collecting data. Structured observation focused on designated aspects of behavior may take place either in field settings or in controlled experiments within a laboratory setting. (p. 221).

Structured observation usually allows much less freedom in the area of content than do unstructured techniques. The former emphasizes more specific formulation of a central problem at the onset of the study. Participant observation which is the concern of this paper points to

the characteristics of unstructured observation; however, many of the advantages and limitations of one type are similar to those of the other. Much of the data with which social science deals may be obtained by direct observation. Direct observation may allow the research to study behavior with a minimum of alteration in the social situation. Some authors feel that perhaps the greatest advantage of the technique lies in the possibility of recording behavior as it is enacted:

All too many research techniques depend entirely on people's retrospective or anticipatory reports of their behavior In contrast observational techniques yield data that pertain directly to typical behavioral situations. . . . (Selltiz, 1961, p. 201)

Kluckhohn states that the purpose is to obtain data about behavior through direct contact and in terms of a specific situation. In this technique, the distortion that might result from the investigator's being an outside agent is reduced to a minimum.

Observation, either structured or unstructured, allows one to gather data even if the subject is unwilling to report or is unable to do so. Less actual cooperation is required by the subject if various techniques of observation are employed rather than interviewing, various types of experimentation, etc.

Observation is flexible and readily adaptable to numerous research objectives. It may be a primary technique of data collection or used to obtain supplementary data. Observation may be undertaken in natural surroundings or in a laboratory. It may be exploratory and used to search for significant variables without attempting to test specific hypotheses, or it may serve as data for testing of assumptions. One advantage of

observation over the interview is its capacity to be utilized to assess behavior through time. Whyte (1943) illustrates this aspect of participant observation:

I came to realize that time itself was one of the key elements in my study. I was observing, describing, and analyzing groups as they evolved and changed through time. It seemed to me that I could explain much more effectively the behavior of men when I observed them over time than would have been the case if I had got them at one point in time. In other words, I was taking a moving picture instead of a still photograph. (p. 323)

The wide range of data which may be encompassed by participant observation has been indicated by several authors. Malinowski, in stressing the following methodological points also illustrates the range of data gathering which participant observation may permit.

The collecting of concrete data over a wide range of facts is thus one of the main points of field method. The obligation is not to enumerate a few examples only, but to exhaust as far as possible all the cases within reach. . . . To summarize the first, cardinal point of method, I may say each phenomenon ought to be studied through the broadest range possible of its concrete manifestations; each studied by an exhaustive survey of detailed examples. (p. 13-17)

Kluckhohn notes the increased range of data which may come as a result of observing the current activity in which community members are involved. Even though the participant observer may have some effect, she emphasizes that he does not create a special situation, and the influence of his behavior may be kept to a minimum. Some data is more guarded than others; however, stimulation (the presence of the observer) of behavior may open a realm which was formerly closed. The ready access to gossip which may be possessed by the participant observer is also cited contributing to increasing the range of data available to the researcher. In some research

situations the participant observer may be viewed as one who is in need of being taught; if this is the case, then the opportunity to secure a greater range of data will likely be increased.

Participant observation is of special value in "understanding a particular organization or substantive problem rather than demonstrating relationships between abstractly defined variables." (Becker 1958) It is participant observation, in part, that allows the field study to obtain information on interrelations in group structure and social interaction as on-going processes. It allows the investigator to study a group in greater depth, than does the sample survey. The technique is especially useful in exploratory work and in the suggestion of hypotheses and patterns which the researcher may wish to examine and/or test in later study. However, participant observation may use more highly structured instruments for observation; an example would be an investigation of some of the aspects in the psycho-therapeutic relationship. Thus, participant observation as a technique has flexibility, possibility of a wide range of data coverage, opportunity to study through time, and may provide direct contact with only minimal change in the situation. Middletown (Lynd, 1929) and Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Gouldner 1954) are only two examples of how participant observation may be used along with other data collection techniques.

Special Problems and Procedures

The following paragraphs deal with some of the problems and limitations encountered when one uses the participant observation technique. There are four general questions which must be answered by an investigator

regardless of the purpose of the study:

(1) What should be observed? (2) How should observations be recorded? (3) What procedures should be used to try to assure the accuracy of observation? (4) What relationship should exist between the observer and the observed, and how can such a relationship be established? (Selltitz, 1961, pp. 209-210)

One cannot state what the content of observation should be, for it will depend much on the aims of the study. If the work is exploratory, focal points of interest will likely change as the study progresses. That the content of observation can change without damaging the final product would seem to be an advantage of the technique. Whyte notes the following units of observation which used when studying community social structure: spatial observations of groupings, changes in group activity, sentiments (or attitudes) expressed, and activities. (Whyte 1951)

These are given only as suggestions, for no concrete list of elements to observe is applicable to all projects. The check list below has been presented by other authors as indicating significant elements of all social situations: the participants, the setting, the purpose, the social behavior, and frequency and duration. These were derived to serve as guides for the direction of observation. Becker's first three stages of analysis that are conducted in the field seem to deal with content of observations and delineation of it into more specific subject matter interests. The stages of field analysis are: the selection and definition of problems, concepts, and indices; the check on the frequency and distribution of phenomena; and the incorporation of individual findings into a model of the organization under study. Although these are discussed by Becker in an abstract manner, he reminds the reader that in the

actual practice of research, all of the operations will occur simultaneously.

The method of recording the data from participant observation is of utmost importance. The ideal would be to record the happening as it occurs; however, this is often impossible without altering the situation and relationships between the observer and the observed. Henry stresses the importance of the technique of recall; he considers the technique of recall one of the "fundamental methodological tools in this work" for the investigator often does not have a notebook and must rely on memory.* In these circumstances, he lets the mind move freely among the material without trying to bring it all together. One thing suggests another in dictating and is a process of association. Whyte notes that:

Although such note-taking opportunities should be exploited, the field observer must rely primarily upon his ability to remember and record later. (p. 7)

Later notes may be more fully typed or dictated. It is noted that beginning observers usually remember less than those who are more experienced; however, one suggested way to make a good observer is to require that he make a full record of his observations. Extensive note-taking while observing may reduce the quality of the observation. Regardless of how the observer chooses to record while he observes, immediately after the observation, he should write what he wants to remember from the situation. An indexing system is necessary if the observer is to locate readily topics contained in his notes. Whyte suggests that careful records be kept of the following: number or data of interview or observation notes;

*As we have indicated we did not have this limitation and recorded in situ a variety of meetings, discussions, teaching episodes, etc.

group chiefly involved; names of persons observed or interviewed (and perhaps of persons discussed by them); and a brief summary of what is covered in the notes. "The index should be kept separate from the field notes so that the research can survey the contents of a large number of interviews by reading over several pages of index."

Thus, both content and indexing of observation are not guided by any firm rules which hold regardless of the situation. It should be noted that participant observation may require that the researcher forego a certain type of unity in his data. Also some of the activities in which he would be interested may be conducted in private or otherwise exclude him. Time and physical capacity also serve to limit participation. Several investigators have pointed to the strain which participating and observing may create.

Participation implies emotional involvement; observation requires detachment. It is a strain to try to sympathize with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity. (Kroeber, 1957, p. 441)

The accuracy of the participant observation technique has been a source of much concern. The technique has the advantage of permitting the observer to see how people behave under group pressure. In line with this Katz (195) feels that in participant observation the researcher may ask questions that are similar or related directly or indirectly to the observed activity. He believes that the expressed attitude toward the behavior and the rationalization of it, if it is to be of significance, should be linked as often as possible directly to the behavior that one seeks to explain. Kluckhohn states that observation may help the researcher to do this and participant observation affords more opportunity

for reliability than direct questioning of selected informants. She feels that the probability that the observer will gain information of a more intimate nature from a larger number of persons is greater if the participant observation technique is used. Kluckhohn's third-mentioned advantage stated that one's chances of encountering "aberrant, atypical, and maladjusted" informants will not be the same in participant observation. In reference to this it is interesting to note that one study reported that when comparing data collected by participant observation with survey data, observers selected a somewhat biased sample of informants, favoring those of higher prestige; sample survey data tended to reach more varied segments of the population. (Vidich and Shapiro, 1955). A test of internal consistency that may be used in participant observation consists of the researchers cross-checking the report of one informant against that of another.

The careful anthropologist, for example, will cross-check the reports of one informant against those of another, and will pay careful attention to discrepancies between avowals in one context and facts which are allowed to "slip out" in another. These are "internal" consistency checks because they compare, within the confines of the same methods, one observation with another. (Vidich and Shapiro, 1955, p. 28.)

Observers' reports may also be cross-checked. Two or more may observe the same event, record independently and check for bias. That one may have to deal with and check for prevarications is noted by Passin. (1942)

By carefully separating interpretation from the record of actual events, the observer may increase objectivity. Complete recording of events may help the observer to maintain objectivity, especially if it is an account of an informer for whom the observer feels personal concern.

As one becomes increasingly involved in the community or setting, he may begin to take many of the elements for granted that he had originally set out to study. Periodic rests therefore and leaving the situation for a time are suggested as means to overcome these tendencies. Reference to the check list previously given may help one find what he has been omitting. One may deliberately break up the perceptual field and in this curb "blind spots"; this procedure may make factors which appear primary less pervasive and may allow more careful analysis of others. Accuracy of observation may be obtained by consulting with some of the informants. Whyte's experience with Doc as a critic of some of his manuscripts is an example; however, it is realized that this is not always feasible. It has been mentioned that being a participant observer may create inner conflicts within the researcher that may interfere with his objectivity. This is especially noticed in situations of emergency when the individual would be able to help but wants to maintain identity as a scientist and yet feels he should aid in ameliorating conditions if possible. This may lead to feelings of guilt or attempts to separate farther from the group. Rosenfeld (1961) believes that increasing awareness of the conflicts and nature of one's defenses will aid in developing proper guards in relation to the type of conflict and situation which may be met.

The role which a participant observer shall assume when he begins a study has been the center of some concern. It would seem that the role he established and his entrance into the field are closely related. There is no prescription for the correct entrance into a new community or setting. Much depends on the characteristics of the group and the amount of information the participant observer has been able to get in advance.

In carrying out investigation in a modern community or in an industrial organization, it has been found expedient . . . to establish the initial contacts with those people who have controlling voices in the community. These may be men who hold status in the power hierarchy or people in informal positions who command respect. (Kroeber 1957)

Merton (1947) points out that sometimes it is necessary to use a dual entry into a study setting rather than approach persons via those individuals at the top of an authority hierarchy. Thus, sometimes it is necessary to make simultaneous but independent contacts on two different levels. Whyte (1957) found that by informing key people as to his plans he was better able to gain personal acceptance; also some were used as informants and observers. He was able to formulate four points of value in gaining community cooperation:

1. Your explanation to the community should be brief and simple.
2. The explanation should be general enough so as to cover all sorts of work you might undertake.
3. Seek the support of the key people first, for the rest of the people will follow their lead.
4. Be on the lookout for people in the community who are themselves keen observers and in strategic positions to observe.

Many authors have been concerned with the role of the participant observer in the community or study area. Some feel that participant observation is to become a part of the group and be as inconspicuous as possible; however, he must choose some role. It has been noted that it is easier to come into a culture knowing little about it than for one to unlearn what one knows and to be objective. Bennett states that the observer becomes a member with a special status and role, thus, this data requires more participation by the researcher than some other types of scientific

work. The role of participant observation itself "suggests that the sympathies and identities established through a close familiarity will reveal meanings and insights denied the formal investigator." (Lohman, 1937, p. 891) This would seem to place the criterion of effective observation on the extent and characteristics of the participation.

Kluckhohn deals with the problem which may be presented by the general role of the observer. She considers both specific and general roles; there may be a problem when the general role does not fit in with the community's set of statuses. The investigator is never able to lose his role of an outsider, and much valuable information comes to him because he is one. The general role (occupational, educational, etc.), which the observer assumes may restrict the range of behavior which he has access to in certain areas; however, it may increase it in others. Kluckhohn feels that the investigator who is forced to analyze his own roles, is less often misled by the myth of complete objectivity in social science research and is more consciously aware of his own biases. The observer's performance is guided by his own conception of the inhabitant's conception of his role. It is important that one know the culture and situation before he can assume a satisfactory role. To do this, Malinowski suggested remaining in as close as possible with the group one is studying. However, if the observer does not clarify his role, the people will attempt to resolve their uncertainty by placing the observer in a category familiar to them. By now it is obvious that failure to assume a role applicable to the particular community or setting can be disastrous. When an observer enters a community or situation, he must have ready an explanation of his role and know the degree of participation in which he hopes to engage.

Ordinarily it seems preferable to make known the fact that one is doing research. It may, as has been mentioned before, enable one to gain more information. The investigator who enters the situation without disclosing his research aim has an obligation to ask himself whether anyone will be harmed by the disguising of his activity. Much more could be said; however, Whyte's approach and Katz' pointers provide partial guides as to observer conduct in the field setting. Whyte's suggestions to the participant observer are:

1. Do not aim at "total immersion."
2. While you do not have to do exactly as other people do, you must show a sympathetic interest in them and their activities. Any evidence of moral disapproval or of condescension will threaten the success of the study.
3. Spend time and keep up frequent contacts.
4. Avoid taking sides in a conflict splitting the community-- unless your study is limited to the side you take.

Eight of Katz' suggestions seem appropriate to the participant observations setting; below is a brief summary:

1. Contacts should not be limited to a narrow segment of informants.
2. Informants who themselves have a wide range of contacts should be utilized.
3. Informal leaders, as well as the people in positions of formal leaderships, should be located and consulted.
4. Discrepancies in the accounts of various informants should be used as the basis for further exploration.
5. Information from respondents should be assessed in relation to their social role and position, their group memberships, and their personal activities.
6. Personalized and private beliefs should be sought as well as the socially accepted climate of opinion.
7. Full records should be kept by field workers.
8. Initial impressions and global judgments should not be discarded.

Conclusion

It is felt that the above statements sum concisely some of the major considerations of participant observation. Only brief mention will be made of the part that theory plays in relation to participant observation.

Malinowski states that:

Good training, in theory, and acquaintance with its latest results, is not identical with being burdened with 'pre-conceived ideas'. . . . The field worker relies entirely upon inspiration from theory.

Bennett notes that the general rule is to articulate or verbalize problems and hypotheses; however, if this is not done, no study ever lacks some type of theory about social life and behavior. Theory like the problem must be consciously articulated or unconsciously held. Field work that lacks theory makes no contribution to science. It is theory that helps explain what one finds and aids in anticipating what may be found.

In summary, participant observation has many of the limitations that are common to other techniques. There are problems of reliability, validity, quantification, cooperation of subjects, objectivity of observers, time and physical capabilities of researchers. However, at the same time it gives the freedom to explore and/or develop hypotheses and significant variables; opportunity for a wide range of data collection; and a favorable way in which to observe human interaction in "natural" surroundings to ascertain social structure and social relationships.

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